LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 151 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · NOVEMBER 23, 1940 NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

THE PROLONGED SILENCE OF THE ITALIAN High Command about operations in the Greek war is good proof of the setback which Mussolini's legions have suffered. Il Duce's speech on Monday provided further confirmation, for while it derided British and Greek reports of victories, it was in effect a pep talk designed to spur the Italian people to greater efforts and to prepare them for "more sacrifices." Striking as the Greek success in pushing back the invaders has been, it is obvious that the campaign has only just begun. We must expect the most strenuous attempts by Italy to retrieve its prestige, and we cannot doubt that it will soon receive aid from its Axis partner which will tilt the scales still more heavily against the Greeks. Such aid is probably being discussed in the current military and diplomatic conversations between Germany and Italy. From the German point of view the Italian defeat has its advantages, for it enables Hitler to charge Mussolini a high price for coming to the rescue. Perhaps he will insist that the German High Command assume general direction of the Italian armed forces. Almost certainly he will demand a limitation of Italian influence in the Balkans. The question remains as to how German assistance is to be provided. There is no great difficulty about sending aerial reinforcements, but the Adriatic route has become hazardous for troopships. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find pressure being put on Yugoslavia to permit the passage of German forces into Albania. The return of Serrano Suñer to Berlin suggests that an attack on Gibraltar is being planned with the object of reducing British naval pressure in the Aegean.

*

MOLOTOV HAS RETURNED TO MOSCOW, BUT no official light has been thrown on the scope, purpose, or outcome of his conversations with Hitler. The sole Berlin communiqué says that the talks "led to agreement of both parties on all questions of importance that are of interest to Germany and the Soviet Union." The first Moscow comment in *Red Star,* the army newspaper, is equally uninformative, stating merely that the "friendly exchange of opinions . . . will make for further strengthening and developing of Soviet-German relations." Only events will show whether the Russian Premier was persuaded or bullied into making positive commitments or whether he was able to escape with general protestations of good-will and promises to refer specific proposals to Stalin. The fact that the imposing retinue of experts who accompanied him to Berlin all went home again suggests the absence of a concrete agreement requiring detailed technical discussions. A new economic alliance or a treaty involving military cooperation could hardly be completed without prolonged consultations between the experts on both sides. The impression that whatever understanding was reached was of a fairly generalized nature is strengthened by the comments of "informed quarters" in Berlin. These declare that Russia, convinced that the British Empire is doomed, is definitely ranging itself on the side of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis—originally incorporated as the anti-Comintern Pact. As a reward it is being allotted a "sphere of domination" between Japan's Far Eastern zone and Europe and Africa, which Hitler and Mussolini are reserving for themselves. But these inspired sources fail to touch on the delicate question of the boundaries between these clashing spheres. Nor do they take into account recent Soviet press comments indicating awareness of the continued vitality of Britain.

*

THE DEADLY BRITISH AIR ATTACK ON THE Italian fleet in Taranto harbor may prove to be one of the decisive actions of the war. It completes the British navy's dominance in the Mediterranean, which is badly cramping Italian operations and is probably the main cause of Graziani's inactivity in Egypt. Even the narrow waters of the Straits of Otranto between Italy and Albania are no longer a secure route for Mussolini's transports, and it is not going to be easy to reinforce the army which the Greeks have manhandled. Of wider significance is the possibility that Taranto will enable the British to strengthen their naval forces elsewhere. Premier Churchill

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his speech of November 5 spoke bluntly of the strain to which the merchant fleet is being subjected by German submarines and bombers. In addition, at least one German raider is again at large, and its attack on a large convoy in mid-Atlantic dramatized the necessity of catching it at the earliest possible moment. Thanks to the epic gallantry of the armed liner Jervis Bay, the only escort which could be spared, a large part of the convoy escaped. But this and other recent incidents have shown how thinly the British navy has had to spread its forces in its effort to safeguard the continuous flow of vital supplies from overseas.

✶

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE MAKES ITS appearance, the C. I. O. convention will be half over and the A. F. of L. convention well under way. We will know whether John L. Lewis has succumbed to the theory of the indispensable man, whether the Federation officials mean business when they talk of ridding their unions of thugs, racketeers, and other parasites on the labor movement, and, above all, whether new hope appears on the horizon for a united labor movement. It is true that too high a price, involving a threat to industrial unionism, can be paid for healing the breach between the two trade-union bodies, but there is by now abundant evidence that no such exorbitant price has been asked by the Federation officials. On the contrary, they appear willing to pay through the nose for their past mistakes in order to put an end to a schism which has seriously sapped their strength. The advantages of unity would be too obvious to cite were it not for the success with which its opponents have obscured the issue. Unity would give labor a far stronger bargaining position in the national defense program, as well as in private industry, by increasing its pressure power and by preventing the playing off of one body against the other. Unity would be advantageous to the defense program itself by confronting the government with a single and coherent policy on the part of organized labor and by eliminating jurisdictional disputes. Unity would be a boon to consumers, who have patiently born the insanities of inter-union battling, and to rank-and-file unionists, to whom new elections, involved in a merger, would bring some chance to break the grip of intrenched machines.

✶

THE DECISION TO SEND HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice-President-elect, to represent the United States at the inauguration of General Avila Camacho as President of Mexico was a happy one indeed. Mr. Wallace has long been vitally interested in Latin America and has come to represent the best aspects of the New Deal's Good Neighbor policy. The sending of as important a personage as the newly elected Vice-President is bound to make an excellent impression in Mexico and offset in no small degree the dubious role played by the American government in the recent controversy over the oil and other properties taken over by the Mexican government. The very decisiveness of the gesture should lay at rest any possibility of an uprising by General Almazán, the defeated candidate for the Mexican presidency. The Administration's recognition of Camacho should shut off any further pro-Almazán activity on the part of the American oil interests. Reports from Mexico City insist that the designation of Wallace as our representative at the inauguration is tied up with a general agreement whereby the United States will be permitted to use a number of air and naval bases in Mexico in return for a generous loan to facilitate the development of these bases. Washington has denied that any agreement on bases has been reached. We hope that the denial is merely a way of saying that final details have not yet been agreed upon. But if no arrangement has been concluded, there is every reason to believe that Mr. Wallace's trip should facilitate one.

✶

THE POSITION OF MARTINIQUE IS STILL obscure and far from satisfactory. Following a "call" by United States Rear Admiral John W. Greenslade on the French High Commissioner, Admiral Georges Robert, the latter issued a communiqué saying that as a result of their conversations there had been "a consolidation of good relations." At the same time it was learned that the Treasury had permitted the release of French credits for the benefit of the French West Indian islands, which are reported to be extremely short of supplies. A recent American visitor to Martinique writing in the New York *Post* reports that intensive preparations are being made to strengthen the island's defenses against attack either by Britain or the United States. Marines considered to be insufficiently faithful to Vichy have been sent to Casablanca, and the civilian population, which would welcome American protection, is disarmed and cowed. The 110 American-made war planes remain on the island and are said to be in first-class condition. At present there are few pilots, but the German freighter Helgoland, which sneaked out of Barranquilla, Colombia, recently, was known to have on board a large party of German aviators. Were they to reach Martinique, the island would be equipped for offensive as well as defensive operations. It is reported that the State Department has more than once sought the return of these American planes. The Vichy government has refused on the ground that Berlin would not permit it. But at the same time the French Ambassador here is constantly protesting that Vichy is not controlled by the Nazis and is perfectly free in respect to its American colonies. We think the State Department should ask M. Henry-Haye to stick to one or the other of these obviously conflicting positions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN GROUPS SEEKING TO appease Japan won a major victory last week when an agreement was signed among Tokyo, the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, and a subsidiary of the British Shell Oil Company to supply most of Japan's oil requirements from the Dutch East Indies. The arrangement calls for an increase in Japan's oil purchases from the Netherlands Indies from the present 494,000 tons to 1,800,000 tons annually. According to the account in the New York *Herald Tribune,* American "oil authorities familiar with the details of the transaction" declare that it has "solved a very delicate situation in the East" . . . and "offset the severance of much of the supplies to Japan from the United States." The "delicate situation" would appear to be Japan's lack of oil, which prevents that country from loosing its full might against China and from engaging in new adventures in the South Seas. It is argued that now that Japan has all the oil it requires it will not need to seize the Dutch East Indies. The falsity of this argument has been revealed in Japan itself, where the military clique is openly urging immediate action against the East Indies, not only as a means of obtaining the rich resources of those islands but as a means of fulfilling Japan's sacred destiny. If Japan is to act, it obviously must act before the United States and Great Britain reach an agreement on naval bases which would prevent Japan from gaining a foothold in the South Seas. It seems incredible that the American and British government could have sanctioned the deal, as the oil interests claim. But if this is the case, it is high time for the American people—who are overwhelmingly in favor of an oil embargo against Japan—to have some voice in their country's Far Eastern policy.

*

THE CAPTURE OF LIBREVILLE, CAPITAL OF Gabon, by General de Gaulle's "Free French" forces removes the whole of French Equatorial Africa from Vichy control and gives Britain and its allies a wide corridor across Central Africa. As a result the Allies now touch the southern edge of Libya, but this is not likely to have any great strategic importance since there are more than five hundred miles of desert between them and Graziani's army. It may prove possible, however, to stir up the Libyan tribesmen, who have not forgotten Italian methods of "pacification." But the most important results of General de Gaulle's coup are the reestablishment of his prestige and the provision of additional bases for the protection of the route to South Africa. According to Vichy, the garrison at Libreville defended the town vigorously and suffered heavy casualties, but the "Free French" communiqués declare that losses were small on both sides. The fact that there was any bloodshed at all indicates the abandonment by de Gaulle of his promise not to take part in a war between Frenchmen. For this he can hardly be blamed considering the extent to which Vichy has become a German pocket government and the severe measures which are being taken against his followers in France and the "loyal" colonies.

*

THE LONG-DRAWN-OUT BATTLE OVER THE personnel of the National Labor Relations Board has just been resolved by the appointment of Dr. Harry A. Millis to succeed J. Warren Madden. Mr. Madden, who leaves behind him an excellent record as chairman of the board, is a victim of political circumstances. There is small doubt that his reappointment would have been rejected by the Senate. Moreover, the strong animosity of the A. F. of L. toward him, coupled with the extravagant support he received from John L. Lewis, made him an obvious stumbling-block in the Administration's plans for labor unity. Whether or not the President should have tried to overcome these considerations, we hope the regrettable passing of Mr. Madden will not be used to create a hostile, and harmful, prejudgment of Dr. Millis. The new board member has a long and honorable record as a labor authority. His experience has been in the field of arbitration rather than administration, but it may be recalled that neither Madden nor his colleague Edwin S. Smith laid claim to any appreciable administrative experience before making their distinguished contributions to the work of the Labor Board.

Aid to China Is Aid to Britain

REPORTS from London state definitely that the United States, Great Britain, and Australia have agreed in principle on defense cooperation in the Pacific, including the use of the Singapore base and probably of some Australian base as well. Although these reports cannot be confirmed in Washington, the absence of an unequivocal denial suggests that some announcement may soon be forthcoming.

A few months ago many American observers were urging that the United States move its battle fleet into the Atlantic, either as potential aid to Britain or as a protection to the United States in case of a British defeat. With the passing of the danger of an immediate invasion of Britain that argument no longer has even partial validity. On the contrary, it has now become clear that the maintenance of our fleet in the Pacific as a bulwark of a strong Far Eastern policy is not only highly important to our own defense but essential to the successful defense of Great Britain.

Since the signing of the tripartite agreement among

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Axis powers, the British Empire has been in jeopardy on three widely separated fronts: the English Channel, the Mediterranean, and the Far East. Attention has thus far been centered primarily on the Battle of Britain. But Britain is now reasonably safe as long as it can continue to get men and supplies from other parts of the empire and the non-belligerent states. The chief threat to the empire at present is the threat to its vital life-line through the Suez Canal to the East. For the moment Greece's successful defense has helped Britain and greatly strengthened its Near Eastern defenses. But if the Axis succeeds in obtaining control of Greece, the life-line will be in serious danger. Even today it appears that despite Britain's recent great naval victory Italy is able to move its troops across the Mediterranean at night without difficulty. If Italian troops can be moved, there seems no reason why German soldiers cannot also be transported to Africa, where they would confront numerically inferior British defenders. Should a drive against Suez be successful, the Axis powers would be in an impregnable position. They would be able to obtain all the oil they needed, and they could get considerable quantities of grain and cotton from Africa. With its life-line cut, the British Empire would face dismemberment. Australia, New Zealand, and India would be isolated, relatively easy prey for Japan with Axis help. The East Indies, with their strategic raw materials, would be even more helpless. Even active intervention in the war by the United States might not, at this stage, be sufficient to prevent the rich British, Dutch, and French empires in the Pacific from passing into Axis hands.

In order to maintain its supremacy in the Mediterranean and safeguard Suez, Britain has weakened its Far Eastern defenses by transferring naval units from the Far East and troops from Australia, New Zealand, and India. Needed troops have also been withdrawn from the defense of the British Isles. Much larger forces are required. Most of these must come from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada by way of the Indian Ocean. But Japan's recent evacuation of important territory in South China and concentration of its forces on the islands of Hainan and Formosa can only be interpreted as preparation for further adventures in the South Seas. There are reports of a Japanese ultimatum to French Indo-China which, if accepted, would give Japan an important and needed naval base at Saigon, almost halfway to the East Indies. Faced by this immediate threat, the British dominions will be compelled to keep back forces for home defense, and there is danger that the immense resources of India may be cut off by a Japanese naval blockade.

Prompt action by the United States in sending naval reinforcements to the Philippines and at least a small contingent to the vicinity of the Singapore base would forestall this threat. For it is clear that there can be no attack on the East Indies if a strong American naval unit is in a position to cut off the Japanese expeditionary force from its base. Increased aid for China by the United States can also play a large part in checkmating Japan's aggressive intentions in the South Seas. But without at least potential naval support we could not be certain that our shipments to China would reach their destination.

If Japan can be checked, the dominions, together with India, can in all probability take care of the Axis threat to Suez. And a strengthening of the British defenses in that vital zone offers the best hope of persuading Turkey to throw its resources into the Mediterranean struggle. The cost of all of this to the United States, it will be noted, is negligible as compared with what might be involved if Britain's life-line were severed. Quite apart from the fate of Britain, it is clearly to our interest to preserve China and prevent Japan from making further incursions in the South Seas which would threaten our vital supplies of tin, rubber, antimony, and tungsten. That such a policy is also of utmost importance to Britain is our good fortune in this day when choices are usually between evils.

Relief Chiseler No. 1

WE CANNOT understand the jubilation with which the conservative press greeted the decision of the Supreme Court in the Republic Steel case. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that hatred of the Labor Board among those who speak for employers is so great that any defeat of it in the courts is an occasion for rejoicing, no matter what was at stake. For we would think that the principles which a paper like the New York *Times* has been supporting in regard to fiscal policy would lead it to deplore the decision of the majority, rather than to welcome it. The conservative press has stressed the importance of balancing the budget, the wickedness of those who take relief from the government without having a right to it. Chief Justice Hughes and the majority do not impair labor's rights by their decision. The workers of Republic Steel retain their right to collect from Tom Girdler every penny of wages lost during their discharge for union activities. The loser in this case is the Treasury. The board had ruled not only that Girdler must reimburse his workers but also that he must repay to government work-relief agencies the amounts they paid out to wrongfully discharged Republic workers. The court says that Republic need not repay the government. In the words of the Black-Douglas dissent, the majority would grant "an offending employer the opportunity of shifting to government relief agencies the burden of supporting his wrongfully discharged employees." The court thus permits Girdler, not to violate the Wagner Act, but to chisel on relief.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The majority is open to criticism only when it seems to go beyond the facts and necessities of the case to step off the bench and into the current controversy over whether Wagner Act violators should be given government contracts. Where the court wishes to evade troublesome questions, as in the Negro case discussed by Mr. Stone in his letter from Washington this week, it declares itself the prisoner of the rule that no decision shall go beyond the points necessary to settle the particular case before it. But in the Labor Board case the majority seems to have been bursting with a desire to put a word in on the debate over the Labor Board and defense contracts. The act provides that the board may order reimbursement for back pay in cases of wrongful discharge. The worker is reimbursed only for the money he actually lost. His earnings from private industry and any money from relief is deducted from the pay he would have received during the period of discharge. The employer need only pay the difference. The board may have been wrong legally to require the employer to reimburse relief agencies for the amounts they paid these workers. But the majority is hardly precise when it takes advantage of this to say that Congress did not intend to allow the board "a virtually unlimited discretion to devise punitive measures." The discretion, as the minority points out, is strictly limited by the amount of back pay involved and the clear terms of the back-pay provision.

While the anti-labor press was making the most of the Republic Steel decision, it buried or dismissed without notice the opinion delivered by Justice Douglas for a unanimous bench in the Serrick case. This was one of those collusive-bargaining cases in which labor unions, usually the A. F. of L. but once the C. I. O. Mine Workers' Union, "organized" with the aid of the employer and his foremen in company-union style. The vigor of the board in dealing with this practice has virtually ended it, but the animosity evoked by the board's attitude is the chief reason for the A. F. of L.'s opposition to Madden's reappointment as chairman. The A. F. of L. made an issue of the Serrick case, and a resolution passed by it in 1938 denounced the "flimsy pretense" on which the board had invalidated the closed-shop contract entered into by the Machinists' Union and the Serrick Corporation. The Serrick Corporation, unsuccessful in blocking a C. I. O. organizing drive with a company union, turned the company union into an A. F. of L. local, one of the chief organizers of the company union becoming head of the A. F. of L. local. The "pretenses" on which the board threw out the resultant closed-shop contract do not seem to have been entirely "flimsy," for they were impressive enough to convince every member of the court that the Serrick case was not free collective bargaining but company unionism with an A. F. of L. label. The court upholds the board, but Madden nevertheless must walk the plank to appease the A. F. of L.

Appeasing Franco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE appeasement front moves just one step ahead of the military front. If you want to know what country will next take up an active role in the Axis drive, choose the country that is currently receiving diplomatic concessions or economic favors from the anti-Axis powers. Today the appeasement front is in Spain.

The British Ambassador to Spain, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian, have been conferring with each other in Madrid; Sir Samuel and the American Ambassador, Mr. Wedell, have been holding conversations with Foreign Minister Serrano Suñer, head of the Phalangist Party, the activities of which in the Americas are well described on another page of this issue; members of the British and American embassy staffs in Madrid have been working in close cooperation on plans to ease Spain's economic situation; talk about a $100,000,000 wheat loan continues in Washington; London is arranging for a credit to Spain of £2,000,000. And, perhaps the most ominous sign of all, a brief item from London hints at a move to expel Dr. Juan Negrín, Prime Minister of Republican Spain, who took refuge in England when France fell. A Madrid dispatch to the New York *Times,* describing some of these developments, suggests that they "will mark an important step toward reorienting Spain's economy in the democratic orbit."

The pattern is an old one, worn thin with misuse. Apparently it will be repeated until the last drop of blackmail has been extracted from Allied diplomacy. Neither experience nor the frankest warnings have had a deterrent effect. Britain should have learned from every bitter lesson—from its betrayal of Ethiopia, under the guidance of the same Hoare, to its final, futile attempt to buy Italy. It should have learned from the open boasts of Nazi and Fascist spokesmen. But it has not learned, and neither, it seems, has the United States. At Baltimore only a few days before the election the President denounced appeasement as a weapon placed by the democracies in the hands of the dictators. That clear-cut repudiation helped to send Mr. Roosevelt back to the White House. Has he forgotten it so soon?

On the occasion of Serrano Suñer's visit to Berlin and Rome in September the Italian press described the situation very clearly: "Spain is with the Axis and no attempt at seduction will succeed in diverting her from her historic destiny." The Italians spoke from experience; they had already enjoyed the morbid satisfaction of encouraging and then betraying the diplomatic advances of the Allies. Ever since the outbreak of the war Italy had let itself be courted by the French and British gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernments, and from time to time had given the impression that it was not entirely unresponsive. As a result the blockade pressed less heavily on Italy than on other much better-disposed neutrals; all sorts of concessions and exceptions were granted; unpleasant comments on Italy were rigidly excluded from the French press, which was not allowed to reply even when the *Popolo d'Italia* and the other Fascist papers accused the Allies of carrying on a war of piracy instead of a war of courageous struggle. (Mussolini has been able to demonstrate in the Greek mountains how a "war of warriors and not of merchant-minded people" should be fought.) As late as the end of last May, just a week before Italy entered the war, Premier Reynaud declared that there was no serious obstacle to an understanding between France and Italy. Later it was revealed that the French Ambassador at Rome had on several occasions hinted that France was ready to yield to the Italian demand for Nice, Corsica, and Djibouti.

With more restraint and greater anxiety, the same game was played in London. Events have demonstrated the degree of its success.

And now Spain. Franco has belonged to the Axis from the moment the Axis intervened to support the rebellion. Certain clerical and other traditionalist elements in the Franco ranks have, it is true, resented Axis domination and have hoped to recover the more archaic forms of reactionary control that antedated the New Tyranny. But the Phalangists have completely outmaneuvered their conservative opponents; each change in the Cabinet has more firmly intrenched the pro-Axis party; and today the groups which would like to respond to Britain's appeal are a helpless and captive minority. It is to Serrano Suñer, not to the church or the landlords, that efforts at appeasement must be directed.

Can Phalangist Spain be bought away from the Axis by wheat or credits? The answer should be clear without new proof. But new proof has been offered in the visits of Suñer to Italy and Germany, in the meeting of Hitler and Franco at Irun, in the insolent anti-British and anti-American tone of the Phalangist press. New proof has been provided by the presence in Spain of thousands of German agents of all the familiar varieties; every American who has traveled through Spain on his way home from France has seen countless German officers openly parading the streets of Bilbao and Barcelona and Madrid. And the final and most sickening evidence of the intimacy between the dictators is the traffic in anti-fascist Spaniards. A trustworthy report from Marseilles, dated October 19, states that 432 Republican refugees in France have already been delivered to Franco by the Gestapo; of these several of the most prominent have been executed. But while Republican leaders go to their death, the envoys of the remaining great democracies sit in Madrid devising means of placating and rescuing the Franco regime.

Some persons, wise enough to realize that Franco cannot be detached from the Axis, have argued rather plausibly that a little aid—just enough to feed the Spanish people but not enough to provide a surplus for Hitler—may serve at least to postpone the day when Spain will enter the war. Active support of the Axis would invoke the full rigors of the blockade, and the people would starve unless Hitler and Mussolini chose to fed them. For this reason, the argument runs, Franco resisted Hitler's urgings to open Spain to Axis forces as a base of attack on Gibraltar. But this view is valid only if one assumes Franco's basic independence. Nobody knows what was said by Hitler and Franco at Irun or what is being decided, as this issue goes to press, by Franco and Ciano and Ribbentrop meeting in Berlin. To me it seems far more plausible that the Axis powers have agreed to a policy which permits Spain to get credits and import food, and have hesitated to force Spain to a state of desperation which might even lead to the over-

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 489

EDITORIALS:

AID TO CHINA IS AID TO BRITAIN 491

RELIEF CHISELER NO. 1 492

APPEASING JAPAN by Freda Kirchwey 493

THE RAT AND RES JUDICATA by I. F. Stone 495

THE INDIVISIBLE WAR by Ralph Bates 496

FRANCO IN THE CARIBBEAN by H. Rutledge Southworth and Willard R. Espy 500

SOMETHING WILL GET DONE by Julian Huxley 503

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 504

IN THE WIND 505

A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 506

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

TROJAN HORSE DOCTOR by James A. Wechsler 507

WILLIAMS THE CONQUEROR by Paul Rosenfeld 507

IMPASSIONED NICENESS by John Peale Bishop 508

TORY THROUGH AND THROUGH by Louis B. Salomon 509

THE FORTY-FIVE DAYS by Rustem Vambery 510

EXPLORING BY BOOKS by Jerome Mellquist 510

IN BRIEF 512

DRAMA: DECLINE AND FALL by Joseph Wood Krutch 512

FILMS by Franz Hoellering 513

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 514

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER

Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

throw of Franco. If Spain falls into chaos and rebellion, it is Hitler who will suffer, not Britain. Spain will be useful to Hitler only in the degree to which it is restored, fed, given some reason, however meager, for supporting the present regime. Every move to help Franco increases his prestige and his hold over the Spanish people. Every move to help Franco is taken as a gesture of weakness and uncertainty on the part of Britain. Never in the dismal record of appeasement has a bribe had any other effect than to create contempt for the nation that offered it and to stiffen the back of the nation that accepted it.

The Rat and Res Judicata

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 15

THOSE who read "Native Son" may want to supplement it with the decision of the Supreme Court last week in Hansberry *vs.* Lee. I can promise them no scene so unforgettable as that in which the rat attacks Bigger. Justice Stone's opinion may appear to be no more than a formidably technical discussion of the doctrine of *res judicata.* But "Native Son" and Hansberry *vs.* Lee both grew out of Chicago's black belt, where Negroes, Chicago's most poorly paid workers, living 70,000 to the square mile, pay the highest rent.

This may seem an odd moment in the world's history to discuss the housing troubles of Chicago's Negroes, but I am not sure that their difficulties are entirely irrelevant to the great struggle before us. The weak points in our democratic armor are those in which we are untrue to ourselves, and this is certainly one of them. Rents in the black belt, higher per cubic foot than along the exclusive Michigan lake front, are high because space for black men is limited. Space is limited because so-called restrictive covenants covering 80 per cent of the property in Chicago bind the owners not to rent or sell to Negroes. These covenants are the walls of Chicago's black ghetto, and they have their counterparts in almost every city in our country. Hansberry *vs.* Lee indicates the lengths to which the courts of a great Northern state were prepared to go to uphold these covenants; it also demonstrates how far the United States Supreme Court must still go before it overturns them.

For the layman the questions raised by the case are simple enough. Does one American have the same right as another to live where he pleases? Is every American equal in the eyes of the law? Will the courts enforce covenants that place some Americans in the status of an inferior race? These questions deserve the same unequivocal answer in the courts that we are accustomed to give them in patriotic oratory. Unfortunately, these are not the answers supplied by our constitutional law. We have yet to establish the rule that contracts involving racial discrimination are contrary to public policy. The Illinois courts decline to recognize the principle despite the presence on their statute books of a Civil Rights Act which forbids discrimination against Negroes in public places. In the Hansberry case the Illinois courts showed themselves equally agile in evading evidence that favored a Negro. Hansberry, who is colored, bought a home in Woodlawn, a white island in the black belt of Chicago. Other property owners brought suit to take the property away from him on the ground that it had been sold to him in violation of a restrictive covenant. Hansberry pointed out that the covenant, by its own terms, was not to become effective unless owners of 95 per cent of the frontage in Woodlawn signed it. He proved that only 54 per cent had signed, and that the covenant was therefore invalid, but the court ingeniously managed to avoid a ruling in favor of the Negro.

Several years earlier a friendly suit had been arranged between two white property owners to test the validity of the covenant. Both sides agreed in advance—stipulated is the legal term for it—that the agreement did have the required 95 per cent. The court which later tried the Hansberry case in Illinois admitted that the stipulation in this earlier suit was "false and fraudulent." It nevertheless held that this earlier decision made the case *res judicata,* that is, a closed question no longer open to litigation in the courts. Hansberry appealed to the United States Supreme Court on the ground that this ruling denied him the fair trial guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. He also argued that the covenant, even if it had had the required number of signatures, would be unenforcible under the Fourteenth Amendment because it was discriminatory. The court, by deciding the case on the first point in Hansberry's favor, did not have to decide the second. The decision thus invalidates one particular restrictive covenant in Chicago but leaves restrictive agreements as valid as they were before.

This result may seem strikingly inadequate in view of the composition of the present court. Justice Stone is a great and good man, and a true friend of the Negro. The Chief Justice, in his present as in his previous term on the bench, has distinguished himself as a champion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the black man's rights. The attitude of Justice Frankfurter, as of the other New Deal appointees, toward the Negro requires no testimonial. It need only be noted that no member of the court has shown himself more eager to fight for the rights of the colored man than Justice Black. From this court one would normally have expected not a sterile disquisition on *res judicata* but a factual study, in the Brandeis tradition, of the effects of racial discrimination in bad housing, bad health, bad morals, and bad feeling. It is explained that the court did not write that kind of decision because the way in which this case came before it did not permit consideration of these broader questions. The significant point, perhaps, is that while this decision will seem a meager victory to the Negro, it appears to the court as a daring and novel interference with the authority of state tribunals. The United States Supreme Court, as it was constituted in the 20's, would probably have affirmed the action of the Illinois courts. That the decision in Hansberry *vs.* Lee should represent progress in the recognition of Negro rights is the best evidence of how poorly established those rights still are.

The court in this case was as much the prisoner of its past as Chicago's black folk are of their white neighbors' prejudices. The Fourteenth Amendment has been held a bar against discrimination by the state but not by private persons. The court has forbidden any Southern state to keep a Negro out of the Democratic primaries. But it permits a Democratic state committee to enforce the same barrier on the theory that a political party, like the Racquet Club, is a private association that can exclude whom it pleases. Similarly the court has ruled in the past that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids a state or city government to establish a Negro ghetto. But it also held in a famous District of Columbia case that property owners may reach the same result by covenant among themselves.

The loophole by which the Supreme Court could have escaped its past in that case is that these restrictive covenants can only be enforced in the courts. The courts are an agency of the state and therefore subject to the Fourteenth Amendment. This is a loophole which the present court may yet utilize, for it cannot permit our basic law to remain in the state in which Hansberry *vs.* Lee leaves it without inviting painful comparisons. These restrictive covenants are our Nürnberg laws, used as often against the Jew as against the Negro. To the latter they are more than a social annoyance.

The Indivisible War

BY RALPH BATES

THE present state of the world—the outbreak of the war and the course it has taken—is the consequence of the failure of European efforts to amend society in the direction of socialism. And in a certain sense it is ironically true that it is the result of the Russian Revolution and, more particularly, of the fact that the Soviet Union became a great military power. For when the Weimar republic failed to alleviate the economic crisis of the late twenties and early thirties and so brought the Nazi Party to power, the only system of alliances that could have held the new German expansionism in check, or have defeated it in battle, was that proposed under the name of collective security. The British Conservative Party, however, mindful only of its own interests, refused alliance with the Soviet Union, whose security and admission to Western Europe it feared, and as a result Germany was able to make war under conditions totally different from those of 1914-18. The nature of the new German state, its huge potential of repression, gives to a German victory an entirely new accent. It is no longer merely a question of the transference of imperial territories but of the establishment of a regime in Europe quite capable of putting an effective end to all liberal and socialist movements, whether revolutionary or reformist.

At this date a detailed account of the consecutive crises which led up to the war would be merely tiresome. The essential fact is that the British and French empires were incapable of taking adequate measures of defense because, in the objective conditions, to have done so would have threatened their very existence. The paradox is striking, but easily comprehended. For example, during the Spanish war the most appropriate course for Britain would have been to give active assistance to the Spanish government, and so to check Italian designs in the Mediterranean. But that would have been an encouragement of precisely those democratic and socialist movements which threaten imperialism itself.

One may think of Europe as a great machine, throbbing with energy, straining to set itself in motion, but checked by a powerful brake. Such was its structure that, if the brake were removed, the machine would race remorselessly onward toward the tragic annihilation of European liberties. The brake, represented by Soviet military power, was removed, and for that the common people of Europe have no responsibility. The removal of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the brake did not merely plunge the world into war; it revealed the macabre logic that underlay European social history. The final tragedy has only been avoided by the application of another brake, unhappily far more costly, that of British resistance. The Russian withdrawal into neutrality, which was bound in the circumstances to be one of benevolence toward Germany, sealed the fate of France; and not only of the French empire but, temporarily, of the French Revolution, which only the endurance of Britain can once more set in motion.

In the intellectual excitement provoked by the fall of France the military factors are being ignored, by radical thinkers as well as by startled conservatives. A reading of classical German theory suggests that the real direction of German strategy was always against France. That this was so was recognized clearly by those who, like the present writer, always insisted that the Anti-Comintern Pact was aimed, not at the U. S. S. R., but at the Anglo-French imperial system. That pact and its supporting propaganda were intended to encourage the British and French imperialists in the belief that war between Moscow and Berlin was inevitable. The German General Staff, it is true, had always prudently considered the possibility of war on two or, more correctly, three fronts. However, the accession to power of the Nazi Party eventually suppressed the diversity of strategic intentions and made possible a foreign policy aimed at limiting the oncoming war to one front. It is, I think, a total error to suppose that the old caution of the Schlieffen school, still regnant in the Reichswehr, was destroyed by the Nazis. On the contrary, the absolute coincidence of strategic preparation and diplomatic effort made possible by Hitler was the condition of German success in this war.

Totalitarian militarization, far from driving Germany into a general hysteria of expansionism, has enabled the Third Reich to instrument the fundamental ideas of Schlieffen, the classical theorist, without, however, adopting his operative proposals. That plan was built upon three main concepts, only two of which are interesting for our purposes—the necessity for a short war and the westward direction of the military blow. It was fear of Russia, the belief that no strategic decision could be quickly reached in the east, that dictated the westward move. The war of 1914-18 proved that the possibility of success in the west, where the most glittering prizes are to be won, was conditional upon purely defensive resistance, or no active deployment at all, on the eastern frontier. There are plenty of references in German propaganda to the conquest of the Ukraine, but the whole history of 1936-39 shows that the western objective was the real one. The conquest of Austria, which reduced Italy to subordination and made the Axis a reality, inescapably settled the strategic issue. For Italy had little to gain by taking part in a war against the Soviet Union. Russian territories would never have been within its permanent control had it obtained them. It is in the Mediterranean and in Africa that Italy's imperial interests lie, and since Italian assistance was necessary to Hitler, the assault upon the Western powers was inescapable. The Abyssinian campaign and the intervention in Spain were conclusive proof that the German effort was a westward one.

The extraordinary, almost incredible refusal of Britain and France to defend their empires in Spain—incredible only if we forget the nature of the British Conservative Party—carried with it another consequence. Czechoslovakia was surrendered, and by that colossal blunder France was severed from its allies among the Succession States. The Kremlin could not fail to understand that the Allies were now too weak to be useful partners, and that the westward blow was now certain. It now merely needed to arrange a final insurance and that was forthcoming when the Polish guaranty was given. The resultant Russo-German pact directed the entire weight of the German army against France. That must never be forgotten when we make the customary radical analysis of the French collapse.

The unpreparedness of the French army was well known to Berlin and presumably to Moscow. The political divisions within France, not only between the two wings of the capitalist parties but inside the demoralized working-class movement, were major causes of the ignominious collapse. But even had a firm will to resist emerged in France, it is hard to see how the result could have been other than defeat, less catastrophic, certainly, but none the less defeat. I do not see how it can be believed that with a large part of the French army immobilized by the Italian threat, with mechanized forces comparatively lacking, and with fortifications between Sedan and the coast non-existent, the result could have been different once the Soviet-German pact had been signed.

To suggest, as some have done, that the Allied mistake lay in not launching a great offensive immediately upon the outbreak of the war is preposterous. With what could it have been launched, and where? That the French army could have broken the German Westwall is not credible. An advance through Luxembourg or Belgium was impossible without sacrifice of the potential assistance of neutral countries. No doubt the Allied advance, when it came, repeated the blunders of 1914 in going forward in the wrong direction, but the mere possession of determined combativity does not of itself give stragetic insight. France was doomed by its previous appeasement, but the signature on its death warrant was in the handwriting of Stalin.

The military disparity was accentuated by the disastrous blow at French morale which the pact of August 23

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

represented. That pact, and the change of line it occasioned in the French Communist Party, could, since that party was a major influence, have only one consequence. The sudden withdrawal of Communist support for the war gave the French reactionary leaders exactly the opportunity for which they had long been waiting. The suppression of the Communist Party, while it was inevitable, was a serious blow in itself, in that it helped to prevent the creation of a new type of resistance to Hitler and to the betrayers of France. Yet the period of confusion which observably followed the change of line, of itself, apart from political repressions, sapped all the energies of the working class. It separated the Communists from the other organizations, which were themselves demoralized by the reversal, and it dismayed the Communist masses. In the objective situation it was not even a falling back upon the classical, but invalid, "defeatist" position of revolutionary parties, whatever the befuddled subtlety in the reckoning.

The collapse of France brought with it the direst political and military consequences. It made possible the completion of the German system of interior communications; it turned British sea power back upon itself and to a great extent immobilized British land forces, so that they can now be of little help to Greece. The loss of the French navy not only imperiled the British Empire, the maintenance of which is not of itself of interest to Socialists, but brought the establishment of fascist hegemony in Europe well within the bounds of probability. It enabled the Axis more rapidly to extend its Balkan left wing, thus pinning the peoples of that region beneath governments even more reactionary than the preceding ones. By disturbing once again the precarious balance between the Spanish traditionalists and the Phalanx, it strengthened Iberian fascism and dragged Spain to the brink of war upon the side of the most active of its mortal enemies. Such a wave of reaction has followed every Axis victory, diplomatic or military.

In this case reaction was visible throughout the world. The Mexican Revolution, already encountering such grave difficulties that some movement to the right was unavoidable, necessarily responds to the Washington policy of hemisphere defense. Financial restraints had previously hindered the application of the agrarian reform. The proposed allocation of 600,000,000 pesos for national defense cannot facilitate the reform, whose halt tends to drive a wedge between the Mexican trade-union movement and the government. And that at the present moment throws the revolution itself into jeopardy, particularly since the Communists, responding to the pact of August 23, 1939, are demanding such extravagant advances that they are falling foul of the President-elect whom they, and the trade-union leadership under their control, did most to introduce to the organized working classes. The Japanese governing classes, redirecting their expansionism toward the French and Dutch possessions now without de facto ownership, brace themselves for the effort by abolishing the remaining trade unions and creating, as part of the fascist New Structure, a labor front. The Japanese puppet administration of Wang Chen-wei permits the reorganization of the old Shanghai Trades Council and directs it against the British and French capitalists exclusively, in the interests of Japanese imperialism. The Axis receives the adherence of Tokyo and, by exerting the pressure made available by the Eastern and Balkan disturbance of forces, attempts to persuade the Soviet Union to abandon China. New conflicts, directly related to the outbreak of the war but accentuated by Soviet neutrality, divide the American labor movement. No great penetration is necessary to see the connection between the American policy of the left-wing trade unions and their characterization of the war as imperialist. No country escapes: the living standards of the Soviet working classes themselves have been seriously lowered by the increased preparedness demanded since the disappearance of the only important anti-Axis army on the Continent.

This wave of reaction will doubtless continue for some time, and the only factor preventing its violent acceleration is the British effort. How paramount that resistance is will be seen if we examine some of the popular optimisms or indifferences, which are, I believe, mostly the compensatory products of a lethal frivolity.

Most of those who say that the Axis powers will be unable to organize their new imperialism are proceeding from false assumptions. They are thinking in terms of liberal capitalist economy, not of a dictatorial economy. They are thinking of exchanges governed by the volumes of credit, gold, and currency available to merchants within sovereign states. That capitalism can ever be finally organized upon an international basis is not to be believed, but that no system capable of reducing the centrifugal strains that Europe has shown is within achievement is a liberal delusion.

Among the optimists of the "wait till the war is over" school, yet another error is current, that of a too ready assumption that not even uniformly reactionary governments in the major European states would enable Hitler to weld them into a fairly stable system. Such people point to the fact that it was precisely the failure of Britain and France to cooperate which gave Hitler his opportunities. They draw attention to the evident truth that the incapacity of France to accept a position of subordination to either Britain or Germany, themselves more powerful and productive states, was one of the contributory causes of the present disaster. France, they say, at one time sought a rapprochement with Italy as counterfoil to the other two countries. Britain opposed this, but did not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propose until too late that fusion of the French and British empires which might have detached Rome from Berlin. In short, they point to the history of the democratic disintegration as proof that a German hegemony in Europe will be similarly frustrated.

Two errors are apparent in such a argument. All the phenomena to which attention is drawn derive from the fact that the predominant capital-owning classes have hitherto been able to use the sovereignty of states to maintain their exclusive territorial privileges. The states, therefore, could not even cooperate to maintain these privileges inviolate. The Axis diplomacy has, of course, equally served the expansionist interests, which also have their origin in the failure to solve the problem of distribution; but there is no evidence that private interests have been able to dictate the day-to-day maneuvers, the consecutive steps, of Italo-German diplomacy. And it is upon timeliness and method that the Axis success has been based. In other words, while fascism is a system of political governance and an economic modality which permits private capitalists to make profits, it no more allows them to introduce contradictory policies or to dictate the direction of diplomatic thrusts than it concedes them the free investment of capital, the fixing of prices, or uncontrolled dealing in foreign exchanges.

The second error is not less fatal. The disintegration of the democratic bloc was due to the fact that the whole structure of Europe, considered as a system of real and potential alliances, had been determined by the concept of the balance of power, with which a centrally situated and highly productive power such as Germany can to a large extent dispense. The direct military menace which Germany, by means of bilateral neutrality pacts, was able to exhibit to each of its encircling opponents in turn, would be sufficient to prevent any possible grouping of poorly armed, if not disarmed, powers. Its armed partner, Italy, stands in such a relation of inferiority toward it that Rome has far less opportunity for divergence than Paris had in respect to London.

Finally, even if we make due allowances for the difficulties which the non-possession of sea power would create for the Axis countries in their efforts to incorporate their imperial conquests, the transference of empire is still possible. In that transference, even if it were attended by Soviet participation in certain regions, there would be no profit for the world. When an ice pack is shattered by an ice-breaker, it rarely builds up into a crystal palace.

And since we are, somewhat artificially, considering the effect of victories, it is true, I think, that a British victory, even without great amendment of government, offers great hope to the world. To grasp this, one must

"What, nothing for dear old Joe? Never fear, Adolf will have a New Order for you Too — — pretty soon now."
LORD of AFRICA
LORD of EUROPE
LORD of ASIA

ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bear in mind the relationship between the national independence of countries and the development of revolutionary and reformist movements within them. An Axis defeat would do more to release the energies of the Spanish people than any other single event. Spain would be restored, as it were, to its strategic vacuum, in which native forces would determine the course of events. The balance-of-power policy at least permitted a certain degree of freedom to the movements of dissent, for it was not a pursuit of repressive hegemony. In point of fact, a British victory very probably would not simply restore democracy but would unleash powerful revolutionary forces in Europe, forces which even a reactionary British government would have less power to restrain than it had in the past.

[*In his second article, to appear in our next issue, Mr. Bates will discuss the social strains in Europe as they affect the war.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Franco in the Caribbean

BY H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH and WILLARD R. ESPY

WE HAVE set our burglar alarms all over the Caribbean Sea. Warships flying the American flag are poking about green, steaming islands; new, lovely death gadgets are being hauled into position at new, lovely air and naval bases. Officers are looking under their beds at night for Adolf Hitler, for they know that the Caribbean is our Mediterranean, Puerto Rico our Gibraltar, and the Panama Canal a lifeline even more vital to us than the great Suez ditch is to Britain. But they will look in vain. Adolf Hitler's projected burglary in the Caribbean will not be heralded by gray cruisers, swastikaed bombers, and a German accent. In Latin America, as was the case in Europe, the alarms will be silenced and the windows unlocked by his local well-wishers, many of them lacking any organizational connection with him. The men paving the way for Hitler most effectively in Latin America are cut to the measure of their public. The organization they obey is the Spanish Phalanx, which operates with ease among a people whose language, religion, and upper-class culture are a purely Spanish product.

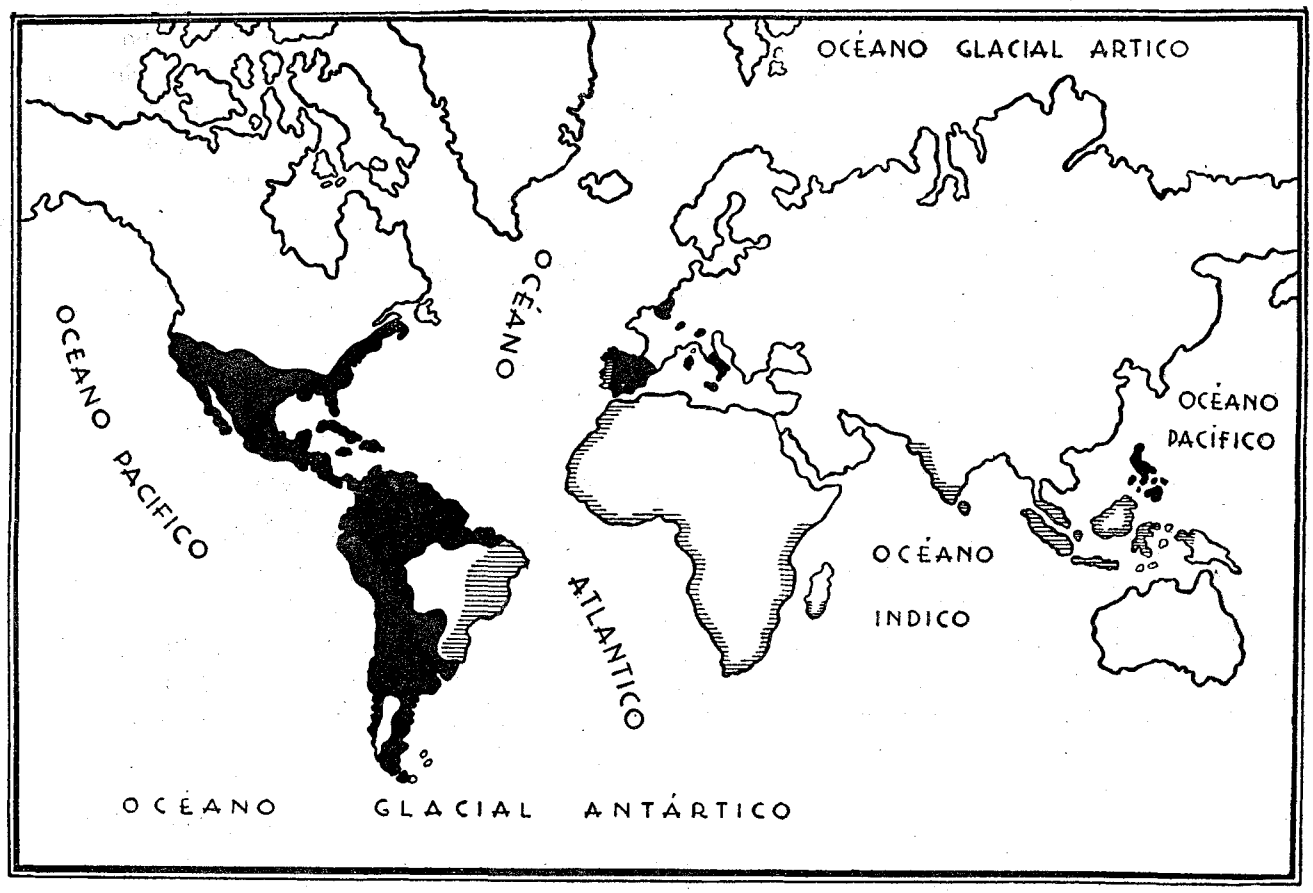
The aims of the Spanish Phalanx, being identical with the aims of Fascist Spain, include the recovery of Spain's lost colonies. Necessarily, therefore, the Phalanx is bitter against the United States. The Phalanx is the only legal political party in Spain; abroad it is the creature of the Madrid Foreign Ministry. Like its models, the German National Socialist Party and the Italian Fascist Party, it relies on an all-powerful and pitiless secret police force, which is headed by José Finat, Count of Mayalde. Phalanx leaders in other countries are appointed openly by Madrid and transferred by Madrid from one country to another.

Though the Phalanx abroad is composed principally of Spaniards, a citizen of a host country occasionally rises to a position of leadership. Circular 26 of the Phalanx Foreign Service, dated January 15, 1938, explained that "as a privilege truly exceptional, the political secretariat of the party can grant, after hearing the report of the Foreign Service, the rank of Foreign Militant to the subjects of another country who have . . . run grave risks or suffered great injuries for their direct participation in our national-syndicalist offensive." Shortly before the announcement of this decision the Foreign Service had in fact named an American citizen, a gay young Puerto Rican dilettante, Alfonso Miranda Esteve, provisional head of the organization in his island. At the time Esteve was a bankruptcy judge, a position which he held under the United States government. Later, a Spaniard, Alberto Durán, replaced him.

Cuba, with more than seventy chapters, is the fountainhead of Phalanx activities in the Caribbean. Persons inquiring for facts about the Phalanx in Colombia are referred by Franco diplomats to *Arriba España,* the official Phalanx publication at Havana. Phalanx agents responsible to Havana headquarters are to be found even in New York. From December, 1938, until last July the Phalanx was banned in Cuba, but it was legalized again almost at the exact moment that the Havana Conference of American Republics approved the uprooting of subversive organizations in the interest of hemisphere defense. The Spanish government on November 2 boldly appointed Cuba's Phalanx leader, Genaro Riestra, to be consul general in Havana, which is much as if the Nazis should name Fritz Kuhn consul general in New York. During the whole of its illegal period the Phalanx maintained pretentious headquarters in the exclusive Velado section of Havana. Uniformed members toting revolvers guarded the doors, and portraits of Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini lined the reception room. Cuban anti-fascists said it was an open secret that the Blue Shirts were undergoing constant military training behind monastery walls.

Cuba has some 4,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 174,000 are Spanish citizens and as many more are Spanish-born Cubans. Their families and relatives bring the Spanish colony to approximately 1,000,000 persons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This map was added by the Phalanx to the 1938 (third) edition of "Defense de la Hispanidad," written by Ramiro de Maeztu, popularizer of the word Hispanidad, *a conception which includes all those who, regardless of race, live under Hispanic culture and religion and tradition. The reconquest of the lands of* Hispanidad *(shown in black) is the avowed purpose of the Phalanx. (The shaded area are lands once dominated by Portugal and likewise coveted by the Phalanx.)*

Probably not more than 50,000 of these are dues-paying members of the Spanish Phalanx; but the organization runs an innocents' club—a nominally humanitarian body called Auxilio Social, or Social Aid—to which 127,000 persons are pledged contributors. It has been competently estimated that more than 100,000 Spanish-connected indigents have received some measure of aid from this society—it served 132,881 meals in Havana in October—and are consequently under obligation to the Phalanx. Auxilio Social claims to be autonomous, but a party order of August 26, 1938, forbids it to collect funds save under the direct supervision of Phalanx officers.

The income of Auxilio Social in Cuba runs as high as $150,000 a month, much of it coming from the dozens of Spanish sick-benefit clubs on the island. Winning a foothold for the Phalanx in these mass organizations has been a major Auxilio Social achievement. Sympathizers with the Spanish republic, who would not come within smelling distance of the Phalanx as such, have contributed to the "welfare" body. A mailing list thus created has been bombarded with propaganda from the Spanish, German, and Italian legations until it forms a closely knit, disciplined organization fanatically opposed to any program for strengthening the connections between Cuba and the United States. How much Auxilio Social income goes to legitimate charity, how much to propaganda, and how much to repair war damages in Spain is anybody's guess. Last July a notice tacked to the wall of Phalanx headquarters announced that more than 11,000 pesetas had just been sent from poverty-stricken Cuba to Spain toward the construction of a mausoleum for José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Spanish Fascist martyr.

The Phalanx is intent on reminding Cubans of their Spanish heritage and of Franco's interest in their welfare: 112 Spanish children in Cuba are being educated by the Phalanx—and probably for the Phalanx. On August 18 last 92 persons arrived at Corunna, Spain, aboard the Marqués de Comillas on a trip sponsored by the Phalanx. The Marqués de Comillas and its sister-ship, the Magallanes, plying between Spain and New York via Cuba, are controlled by the Spanish government and drop Franco propaganda at Havana on every voyage. Last summer ten Phalanx agents paused between ships to compile with local aid a huge catalogue containing the names, birthplaces, finances, and politics of all Spaniards on the island. The data were required by the Franco government for a hideous blackmail racket based on a technique made notorious by the Nazis. Cuban anti-fascists are warned to change their politics if they don't want their relatives in Spain to suffer. Similar pressure on New

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World business men and on men with property in the old country brings the Phalanx an agreeable flow of contributions.

Since its new legalization the Phalanx in Cuba has blossomed into fresh activity. In Puerto Rico, on the other hand, it is lying low for the duration of the present wave of anti-totalitarian sentiment in the United States. Puerto Rico, an island of 1,500,000 people, is a United States dependency on the eastern edge of the Caribbean. It is considered so important for the defense of the United States that in 1939 a new Military Department was established there, with headquarters at San Juan. Rear Admiral William D. Leahy, one of the navy's most highly respected strategists, became governor in September of that year. Work was started on super-modern air and naval bases costing $30,000,000, and the island was made supply base for all military and naval operations in the Caribbean. The navy's war games focused on Puerto Rico, and additional troops, chiefly anti-aircraft and artillery units, were rushed to the area. Yet the Phalanx remained so strong that Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of the Dies committee, after a hop-skip-and-jump tour of the Caribbean last summer, commented: "It is my personal opinion that if the National Socialist Party of Germany is attempting to make inroads in Puerto Rico it is through this organization."

The Phalanx in Puerto Rico is registered with our State Department as agent of a foreign principal. Miranda Esteve's covering letter names its essential purposes as aid to distressed Spaniards, creation of an "impartial" state of mind among Puerto Ricans toward Nationalist Spain, and development of a "bona fide commerce between National Spain and the United States of America." Its actual objective—return of Puerto Rico to Spanish ownership—of course goes unmentioned.

There are perhaps 5,000 Spanish subjects in Puerto Rico today, with their families. Most of them are Phalanx members, though the number publicly avowing their affiliations has fallen off as a result of the international situation. Phalanx headquarters are at San Juan, with local chapters at Ponce, Mayagüez, and Caguas. Though the island population is thoroughly disgruntled over Puerto Rico's role as a far from prosperous United States appendage, it is in the main sincerely democratic, and Congressman Thomas's estimate that for every Phalanx member there are ten sympathizers is open to some question. Nevertheless, despite its poverty, the island furnished sinews of war for the Franco rebels, in calm disregard of the American embargo. The truth of persistent reports that San Juan served as clearing-house for North American hand grenades and ammunition going to Franco under the label of "pottery—Czechoslovakia" cannot be absolutely established, but cash contributions totaling $600,000 were revealed by the following item in the Spanish newspaper *Faro de Vigo* for November 22, 1937:

> *Puerto Rico.*—From June 18, 1936, to November of the present year Puerto Rico has contributed the following donations to the cause of Nationalist Spain: $400,000 in cash; $100,000 to acquire an *avioneta* [airplane]; $2,000 for devastated towns; $2,000 toward the subscription to build the cruiser España; and $25,000 in medicines. This afternoon 4,870 kilograms of tobacco were received in Saragossa to be distributed among the soldiers fighting on the Aragon front. A new shipment of goods and $4,000 in cash is promised.
>
> The Hispanic societies [of Puerto Rico] have agreed voluntarily to raise $1,500 monthly. . . . The Spanish Chamber of San Juan, on the unanimous vote of its founders, has decided to send funds to Generalissimo Franco for the needs of the new Spain. This donation comes to more than $10,000.

The upper classes of Spanish and American society in Puerto Rico were 100 per cent pro-Franco during the war. The Casino Español, the Casa de España, and the Spanish Chamber of Commerce, the leading Spanish social and financial organizations in the island, were officially pro-Phalanx. As a "front" organization for the Phalanx, the Casino Español entertained Nazi officials, among them Commander Hain of the German schoolship Meteor, not to mention mysterious figures like Baron Maximilian von Loewenthal, a monocled Austrian ex-diplomat who edited the periodical *La Raza* in Costa Rica.

Spanish propaganda films shown in San Juan are all of German make. They were brought across the Atlantic by José de la Serna, son of the Spanish novelist Concha Espina, and brother of the editor, Victor de la Serna. José de la Serna is a known member of the Phalanx secret police.

More startling than the numbers or the activities of Phalanx members in Puerto Rico is the sympathy with which they have been regarded by certain sections of American officialdom. During the Spanish war Phalanx rallies were attended by General Winship, then governor of the island, Colonel Orbeta, a former major in the United States army and at last report still chief of the Puerto Rican police, and Colonel John W. Wright, at that time head of the United States armed forces in Puerto Rico. Wright freely showed his sympathy with the Phalanx during the Spanish civil war. In September, 1937, he blandly entertained Luciano López Ferrer, special ambassador of the Spanish rebels, at Ballajá, a United States military post. Photographs of this extraordinary fraternizing were printed regularly in *Puerto Rico Ilustrado,* a leading magazine of the island.

Repeated protests against this official tolerance of illegal Phalanx activities were submitted by Jacinto Ventosa, the Spanish Republic's vice-consul in Puerto Rico,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but his letters were not acknowledged. Washington's local representatives may have thought that the State Department approved their attitude, since it allowed Dionisio Trigo y Marcos, brother-in-law of Police Chief Orbeta, to act as Franco's representative after December 9, 1936, in direct violation of Sections 233 and 235 of Title 22 of the United States Code. When Trigo's sons assaulted Ventosa in Pardo Bar, San Juan, Orbeta's police refused to arrest them. This blindness of American officialdom toward the fascist sympathies of Puerto Rico's fashionable society persists to this day. Only last month Governor Leahy pooh-poohed the menace by saying, "The Spanish Falangists are persons well known to the federal authorities, and their acts have always been carried out with the greatest respect for the laws of the American government."

The cordiality toward the Phalanx displayed by United States military and civil officials has its counterpart in the attitude of the Catholic church. The island is divided into two bishoprics, the northern one being directed by Monsignor Edwin V. Byrne and the southern by Monsignor Aloysius J. Willinger. Both men are Americans, and both dioceses are directly responsible to the Holy See. Monsignor Willinger had a Franco coat of arms upheld by angels painted on his chapel during the war, and both men made a habit of blessing Franco rallies, at which blue-shirted Phalanx members were the most conspicuous attendants. Many of the island's priests are Spanish and wear their Phalanx insignia over their cassocks. Working with German Redemptorist fathers, they distribute Fascist leaflets printed in the Third Reich or by the *Revista Católica* of El Paso, Texas.

In Cuba likewise some American officials and business firms have continued tacitly to support the Spanish Fascist movement even though the Spaniards themselves have admitted their identification with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. They are abetted by many of the wealthier Cubans, who were pro-German in the last war and are pro-Hitler now. Among these is ex-President Mario Menocal, whose support was the decisive factor in Colonel Fulgencio Batista's presidential victory last July. Other violent Franquistas are the brothers Rivero, one of whom publishes the *Diario de la Marina,* the most influential newspaper in Cuba, while the other is Cuban ambassador to the Vatican. The Riveros were reported recently to have bid unsuccessfully for New York's only Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa.* César Salaya de la Fuente, secretary-general of the recent pan-American conference, must be added to the list, together with Angel Campa, Secretary of State under President Federico Laredo Bru, whose term of office expired at the end of September. Under Laredo Bru's successor, Campa has achieved his ardent ambition to become ambassador to Madrid.

By itself Spanish imperialism would hardly be a grave threat to the United States; as a front for the German drive on Latin America it is not to be taken lightly. Only by the kind of economic cooperation which will raise the standard of living of the people—as opposed to imperialism—can this danger of Axis penetration be prevented.

Something Will Get Done

BY JULIAN HUXLEY

London, November 4

THIS morning I restrained myself with difficulty from childishly turning the bathroom taps on and off and repeatedly flushing the toilet. No, my mind is not giving way under the strain of the *Blitzkrieg!* It is just that we have been without running water for eight days, and to see it run again prompted the childish manifestations. Our water-main was smashed in a raid. So was the electric cable. Primitive conditions are fun when you are camping; but when you are trying to lead a normally efficient life in the complexity of modern civilization, they are not. No baths; water carried upstairs in pails, and having to be boiled for drinking; no central heating; hurricane lamps and guttering candles to write by in the evening—a week of this brings home very forcibly that the amenities of technological progress are not mere comfort, but the basis of decent and efficient living.

Life in London is now a brave and, on the whole, wonderfully successful struggle against discomfort and impaired efficiency. Journeys take longer because of detours to avoid damaged streets or time-bombs. Certain sections of the tubes suffer precautionary closure during raids—and there are generally two or three raids every day as well as one raid lasting almost all of every night. There is greater overcrowding during rush hours. Telephonic communication is erratic,

[*Censored*]

Letters and telegrams are considerably delayed. Many shops close during an alert, to the annoyance of those who have come out to do their shopping. Even with the new system of roof-spotters which makes it possible to treat the sirens merely as an alert, much working time is inevitably wasted in the basements of government and other offices.

The city's social life is, of course, almost entirely disrupted, and the evenings as well as the nights are mostly spent in shelters. This has an inhibiting effect even when reasonably comfortable private cellars are available. But when the hours of darkness are spent in a cramped Anderson shelter, on a tube platform, or in one of the big noisy and inevitably rather dirty public shelters, existence reverts to something primitive. Hobbes said that human life was "nasty, brutish, and short." These natural attempts to prevent its undue shortening certainly increase its nastiness and brutishness. It is indeed a poignant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sight, and one that it is impossible to get hardened to in spite of its universality in London today, to see people trudging in broad daylight toward the tubes or other shelters laden with suitcases or loose bedding, and queuing up to await the time of opening.

The unexploded time-bombs are another source of dislocation.

[*Censored*]

The physical organism of London is scarred; various of its nerves are cut, various of its capillaries, veins, and lymphatics put out of action, its circulation slowed. The remarkable and indeed astonishing fact is how efficiently London manages to carry on with its really essential work and how rapidly the damage is being repaired. But there is no point in pretending that it is not an effort, and that the whole business is not definitely unpleasant and irritating. When it comes to the living components of the city, the six millions or so of human beings who still inhabit it, and the mode of their existence, the unpleasantness is greater.

A survey carried out a few weeks ago showed that whereas in peace time only about 3 per cent of Londoners habitually slept five hours or less a night, the number had then gone up to 40 per cent. Admittedly that was at the height of the disorganization, and much has since been done to make sleep in shelters more possible. But there must still be a very large curtailment of sleep.

Another recent survey carried out among people in public shelters after dark showed that almost three-quarters of them had nothing to do, apart from chatting or occasionally knitting. The leisure of a great metropolis has ceased, in large measure, to be occupied—although more favorably placed people are finding that they are getting more time for reading. By and large, life for Londoners today is divided into doing their work and killing time underground. Here again steps are being taken to overcome this: groups of people are organizing games, or sings, or reading circles; and without doubt the human spirit will devise some answer to the problem. But meanwhile one can only note it as a new and extraordinary social phenomenon.

One thing is certain. The bombing of London has brought to a head the popular feeling against war. At the moment that is submerged in the hundred immediate problems that must be tackled and the equally urgent resolve to win this particular war. But when the people come up from their shelters into the region of normal life, it will come up too. The cynic will remind us that people felt and talked in the same way during the last war, and yet nothing permanent was accomplished. The answer is that in the last war people did not really feel in the same way. The last war was bad enough; but this has become a denial of ordinary existence. This time something will get done.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

That Inflation Myth

CONSIDERING that Wall Street gave Mr. Willkie about a 95 per cent majority, it observed a barely decent period of mourning for his defeat. During one session the market sold off moderately while imprudent speculators unloaded the stocks they had bought in anticipation of victory. Utilities, it was observed, were particularly depressed.

The next day the funeral was forgotten in an old-fashioned scramble to buy stocks which sent the averages shooting upward and produced the biggest turnover for many months. Since then, although the best prices have not held, the stock market has remained active and has shown signs of a definite forward movement. This behavior appears so unnatural to some commentators that they have been forced to seek a discreditable explanation. Seizing on Secretary Morgenthau's statement, two days after the election, that Congress would be asked to raise the statutory debt limit by $15 to $20 billion, they have raised the cry of inflation. The New Deal, they imply, is about to meet that nemesis whose imminent arrival has been foretold by conservative financiers at six-month intervals ever since 1933. Now, it is suggested, the huge defense expenditures, following seven years of unbalanced budgets, are really going to start us on the slippery slope of currency depreciation.

The only way to measure inflation is by comparison of prices, and if we study the course of prices since 1933 we see that the record of the New Deal in this respect is most creditable. When Mr. Roosevelt first took office, the country was in the grip of a severe deflation; prices were at bankrupt-sale levels, and everyone agreed that they should be higher. Between 1933 and 1936 the wholesale-price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics rose from 65.9 to 80.8 (1926 equals 100), a corrective movement which it would be absurd to call inflation. Early in 1937 a further sharp rise occurred, partly owing to speculative buying for inventories. The Administration took steps to curtail credit supplies, and the President issued a warning that certain prices, that of copper in particular, were too high. These actions may have been over-drastic, for they heralded the 1938 recession, but as anti-inflation measures they were extremely effective. It is curious, therefore, that at least twice during the campaign Mr. Willkie should have attacked the President for his successful effort to check speculation in copper.

Since the end of 1937 prices have remained on a fairly even keel. There was a rather sharp spurt in the fall of 1939 after the outbreak of war, but government publicity and conscious restraint on the part of business men who remembered the 1937 débâcle prevented it from getting out of hand. The index figure for 1938 was 78.6, and that happens also to be the figure for the week ending October 26, the latest published in the Federal Reserve Bulletin. Considering war-time pressures and the extremely stimulating effects of the defense program on the economy, this is a record of remarkable stability. Moreover, it is well to remember, whole-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sale prices today are some 19 per cent lower than in 1929, which means that even though the Roosevelt dollar buys a smaller amount of gold than the Hoover dollar it is definitely worth more in terms of usable goods. It is therefore sheer nonsense to argue that the New Deal to date has produced even a tendency toward inflation.

But what of the future? Is it true that the defense program will increase incomes to the extent that the demand for goods will outstrip supply and thus force an inflationary rise in prices? That is what happened in 1917, but then the United States was attempting to raise and equip an army at a time when the country's productive capacity was fully employed. Today that is not true. We have a large margin of idle labor and idle machinery which, as purchasing power rises, can be put to work to swell the supply of goods. In 1917 our farmers were unable to meet the export demand for their products, but today the position is reversed. There are huge stocks of grains, fats, and cotton stored in the warehouses, sufficient to take care of any conceivable increase in domestic consumption. There may be, of course, special situations where, owing to concentrated demand from the defense industries, it will prove difficult for civilian industries to fill their requirements. Copper is a case in point, for it is estimated that domestic production of copper in the next twelve months will fall considerably short of consumption. But there are remedies at hand other than permitting a rise in price which would enable low-grade mines to reopen and enhance supplies. Latin American copper mines are far from fully employed, but at present imports from this source are excluded by a four-cent duty. If Congress suspended this duty, or even halved it, ample supplies of copper would become available, and it would not be hard to hold the price at its present level of twelve cents a pound.

To return to Mr. Morgenthau's proposal for an increase in the debt limit. This was really no revelation, since Congress has already appropriated $15 billion for defense purposes, and it is obvious that this sum cannot be wholly met from taxation. The present $45 billion statutory limit will take care of civilian borrowings during the present fiscal year, and in addition the Treasury is authorized to borrow $4 billion solely for national defense. But this authority is restricted to a five-year period and therefore can only be used to issue short-term bills and notes. Such securities, generally speaking, can only be sold to the banks, and since such bank loans have the effect of creating new deposits they may be said to have an inflationary tendency. The Secretary of the Treasury wants to be able to issue longer-term bonds which will appeal to insurance companies and the general investor and thus tend to drain off part of the huge pool of idle bank deposits. That is why he wants the special authorization for defense borrowing to be merged in a general extension of the debt limit. Thus the implications of his statement are anti-inflationary, since if his proposals are carried out, funds which are theoretically available for the purchase of consumable goods will be absorbed by the financing of the defense program.

Again, Mr. Morgenthau raised the question of a further increase in taxation, which is another method of restricting the purchasing power of rising incomes and thus discouraging that competition for goods which can start an inflationary spiral of prices. I hope, however, that this method will be used cautiously until our margin of idle productive capacity is considerably reduced. Further taxation which would tend to raise the cost of necessities should also be avoided, since this would lead inevitably and rightly to demands for a general rise in wages and thus provide leverage for a general rise in prices.

In the Wind

A FEW DAYS after election Senator Taft returned to Washington on the Congressional Limited. Throughout the journey he read a book, which he kept in front of his face, perhaps to hide his identity. But the way he held it enabled everybody to see the title, and a ripple of laughter spread through the car. He was reading "The Great Mistake," by Mary Roberts Rinehart.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF Mrs. Roosevelt's gift of $25 to the defendants in the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism trial may have repercussions. She made the gift privately because she felt the cases deserved a full airing, and the defense committee made it public without her permission.

A HOUSTON, Texas, radio station recently carried this bulletin: "It is officially reported that Count Ciano, after bombing Salonika, flew to meet von Ribbentrop in the Sudetenland, where they will hunt peasants." Did they bomb pheasants?

THE OCTOBER issue of *Destiny* denounces the "evil propaganda" being directed against it by a number of newspapers, including one "which has no paid advertisements and is reported to have on its staff "liberals, reds, and Jews." *Destiny* is the official organ of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. W. J. Cameron, public-relations counsel for Henry Ford, is a former president of the federation and still has an active hand in its affairs. Mr. Cameron has vigorously denied charges of anti-Semitism leveled at the federation.

PROTESTS FROM labor groups over the alleged "packing" of draft boards with anti-labor personnel are increasing. Several changes have already been made in Los Angeles boards as a result of blasts from labor quarters.

THE DECISION to continue the Independent Committee for Roosevelt as a permanent body was made by Mayor LaGuardia, and, insiders say, Ed Flynn wasn't consulted. Incidentally, a key figure in the committee told intimates recently that the group hopes to raise enough money to buy some reactionary newspapers and convert them into progressive dailies.

SOCIAL JUSTICE'S newest target is Charlie Chaplin. It objects to "The Great Dictator" because it is aimed at Hitler and doesn't include Stalin; which proves you-know-what about Chaplin.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

THAT story about the Southerner getting ready to vote for Roosevelt again but telling his visitor that "if you Yankees don't stop voting for him this country is going to hell" has grown a beard, but it is neither older nor less funny than the faith of Northern conservatives that they can continually count on Roosevelt opposition from the representatives of the Democratic South. Republican Senator-elect Ralph O. Brewster spoke that faith in a post-election interview the other day. Liberty was threatened, but he counted on the South to save it from F. D. R.

"We must anticipate measures to curb the freedom of the press," he said. "However, the Southern bloc in Congress, though supporting Roosevelt, will stand for preservation of liberties, including the press."

Mr. Brewster's report on the South was that of a man from Maine speaking in Los Angeles. The South came out of the election with less division than any other region in the country. Only two politicians in the South of any importance made a show of not voting for the President, and "Cotton Ed" Smith's South Carolina and the Texas of "Cactus Jack" Garner gave Roosevelt big majorities.

Neither of these old gentlemen is very important now even in the South. South Carolina will probably keep "Cotton Ed" in the Senate for the rest of his life. But Garner can stay at home in Uvalde not only on Election Day but forever after. I think that those whom Dorothy Thompson calls the Catilines of the extreme left and right are rarer in the South than elsewhere. There is an increasing silliness in the persistent romantic view of the South as a land of a fixed feudalism, of ladies and lords above a great mass of white and black slaves. We begin down at the bottom, but the number at the top is wonderfully rare. The South at its best is a middle-class land, and the middle class in the South is increasingly aware of its own relationship to the welfare of the black and white Southern poor. It is for the New Deal.

It is for liberty also, as much as any other section in America. It will fight as long as any region for a free press, though it anticipates no attack upon it. But in parts of the South it would do no harm if the press itself gave a little more evidence that it is free. In Tennessee, which went two to one for Roosevelt, half of the city papers, with more than half of the newspaper circulation in the state, fell into line for Willkie following the lead—or jerk—of absentee ownership in New York. Those papers are coming out of the campaign not only sharing the failure of a large part of the press elsewhere but also suffering from a continuing local understanding that what they said—and say—represents less indigenous opinion than distant control.

Northern conservatives need to remember two things. In important human respects the South is the have-not section in America. It is also the section which the census showed has had the greatest increase in population in America—the increase is young in a nation of more and more elderly people. Counting on conservatism from such a region is counting on the dumbness or the docility of the Southern people in support of a status quo in which a lot of them are hungry in a rich land.

But those who count on the South do not count on the Southern people. They depend instead on some shrewd and reactionary Southerners who by one or another variety of demagoguery have got Southern votes. There is, indeed, a good deal of evidence that reactionaries in the South have been skilful in getting the votes. Their skill has not been based merely on poll taxes and prejudices, both of which they freely use. Maybe it has been chiefly based on a sort of lethargy in an electorate which has never got much help out of politics and has sometimes been content with no more than a good show.

This election in the South was no mere traditional straight Democratic voting. It overturned the third-term tradition, on which Republicans said they based hope in the South. But the significant thing is that the Democrats voting the straight Democratic ticket for a third term were voting for the man they had demanded the right to vote for under no compulsion of custom. In virtually all the Southern states the rank and file of Democrats instructed their delegates to the Chicago convention to name Roosevelt last summer.

Senators talking big words may fool them again on votes in Washington. The business men who were for Willkie will slip back as quickly as they can into the Democratic councils in their states. But they and the country need to realize that the so-called conservatism of the South is cracking. The South is for liberty, but it was a Southerner not long ago who included in his definition of liberty the right to "eat regular." It is important. This South of youth and increase and difficulty, already overflowing in disturbing migrations, scarcely seems to be the hope of things as they are—or were. It moves, if slowly, with the push of people on its politics—and behind the politicians people are still power.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Trojan Horse Doctor

THE TROJAN HORSE IN AMERICA. By Martin Dies. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.50.

ON THE publication date of this book Martin Dies solemnly announced that "thousands of saboteurs" were at work in Michigan factories. He named no names, submitted no proof, and hasn't mentioned the subject again; but the incident was typical of the one-man self-promotion campaign which Mr. Dies has waged since he assumed the role of democracy's dare-devil defender. There have been cheerful prophets who insisted that Dies was bound to discredit himself unless he lost his voice. They underestimated Mr. Dies and they misjudged the climate of opinion. There have been others who, in the light of European events, have begun to see virtue in Mr. Dies's persistence. They are wrong, too. Whatever the rhetoric, Mr. Dies is not on our team. It is a major misfortune that democracy's noisiest Paul Revere is no democrat at all.

This book reveals little that is new about anti-democratic groups in the United States. It is essentially a belated anti-New Deal campaign pamphlet, shielding the right wing while directing an indiscriminate bombardment against the left, and adding nothing but confusion to the difficult and complex task of democratic self-defense. As the *Herald Tribune's* reviewer has noted, Mr. Dies devotes 324 pages to exposure of real or imagined Communist activity; he dismisses the subject of Nazi and fascist groups in 42 breathless pages. In his elaboration of the red network he spares almost no New Dealer of prominence: Frank Murphy, Robert Jackson, Harold Ickes, J. Warren Madden, Sidney Hillman, David K. Niles, James B. Carey, President and Mrs. Roosevelt and a host of others are linked to Communist affairs, as is that reconstructed Republican John L. Lewis. The New Deal is pictured as virtually a Communist-front organization, and the final chapter is a stirring attack upon New Deal legislation.

But when Mr. Dies approaches the right, he does so with startling temperance and discrimination. He singles out for attack only those who have so blatantly given the Nazi salute in public that they could hardly be skipped. In 366 pages I was able to find just two references to Charles E. Coughlin, each one sentence long. Each merely states that Coughlin's *Social Justice* was among the literature found in Bund camps. Why has Mr. Dies consistently protected Coughlin? Nowhere is there any extended discussion of Coughlin's activities, and nowhere any reference to fascism's respectable apologists. One looks in vain for mention of Merwin K. Hart or Henry Ford or William R. Castle or James D. Mooney; journals like Patrick Scanlon's Brooklyn *Tablet* are overlooked. The Dies committee did a weak and woeful job of exploring right-wing groups. But even the committee's disclosures, frail as they were, are telescoped further by Mr. Dies as author.

Some of the things Mr. Dies says about the Communist Party's influence on avowedly independent groups are true. But truth must be read in context; and in the context of Mr. Dies's pages the facts are too often indistinguishable from the fraud to be useful. There is little that the Dies committee has shown about the Communist Party which the party, by its abrupt reversals of policy in pseudo-independent groups, has not disclosed about itself; but the question of what ought to be done about the facts must be swiftly removed from Mr. Dies's hands. For in his hands they become instruments for attack upon all decent democratic agencies. The purge that Mr. Dies proposes would begin in the White House. He sees "democracy" as much endangered by Consumers' Union as by the Communist Party, and his anti-union bias runs through his whole discussion of allegedly subversive unions.

Above all, Mr. Dies has once again blurred the real nature of the right-wing peril. He has urged us to gape at Bundsmen and overlook business men whose links with fascist groups are real and ominous; he has written at length of piddling Italian fascist fronts but sidestepped the whole area of pro-Mussolini financiers. These omissions are not the result of haste. Mr. Dies rewards his friends and punishes his enemies.

No one has yet devised a satisfactory formula for imposing legitimate restraints on anti-democratic groups without arousing the emotional equivalents of totalitarianism. But a prerequisite for that task is a clear vision of the problem. By attributing to the Communists a following of 2,000,000 and in a host of other ways, Mr. Dies has thrown sand in democratic eyes. Democratic self-defense is a balancing act in which, at each step, the consequences of repression must be weighed against the consequences of libertarianism; and judgments must be made with few absolutes as guides. The anti-democratic plague is no case for a horse doctor.

Mr. Dies's book strengthens my conviction that the full story of the Dies committee is yet to be told. The pattern of its activity is not the product of blundering and ineptness; it is part of a pre-fascist build-up for a crusade against liberal institutions. Mr. Dies's collaboration with the enemies of Republican Spain is well known, but the evidence is still fragmentary. One of Paul Y. Anderson's last columns was a plea for an investigation of the Dies committee. Martin Dies's book is new reason for such an inquiry.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

Williams the Conqueror

IN THE MONEY. By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.

THE Friends of William Carlos Williams can now be certain of his approaching reception of a widespread recognition. This probably would have come to him long since but for the fact that the opportunism of the publishing world, while it may not extinguish a man of letters whose public, like Dr. Williams's, at best grows slowly through the years, does help to keep him in obscurity. True, because of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its prevaling sexlessness the poetry of this half Anglo-Saxon, half French and Spanish-Jewish pediatrician might never have been popular. Still his prose is strong. Despite the singularity of the style, little of it is esoteric in character. That much of it achieves forces of perception and expression new to American literature could have been plain to many readers.

Plain and peculiarly satisfactory; since these intensities are the fruit of a sort of spiritual prolongation of the voyages of Columbus and the conquistadors. Williams's object steadily has been that still imperfectly charted new world, the essential America. On native character, affections, manners, especially on the minutiae of lower and middle-class existence, he has leveled an acute, warm, unvaryingly truthful feeling. Basic forces have been discovered by him near the core of things American: abundant cruelty but also miraculous toughness and power of growth. With a certain force of imagination he has visualized his discoveries in symbols derived from history but more frequently from the life and landscape of his special region, industrialized northern New Jersey, and seized them in a swift, lean style immediately connecting reality and the word and more than occasionally heroic.

What assures one that a wide sense of his importance is at hand is first of all the circumstance that Williams lately has found a publisher with the will to keep him before the world and the ability to do so. Secondly, it is the discerning praise bestowed on "White Mule" and the reimpression of "In the American Grain." Most assuring of all is the fact that by sheer dint of effort the author is continuing to enlarge his scope as proseman. His latest novel, "In the Money," indubitably is his best and one of his most comprehensive performances. A sequel to "White Mule" and like that fine book a scenic and dramatic, half-humorous narrative, it continues its massive characters and situations. The soft idealistic German, Joe Stecher, who loses his socialistic feelings in his relations with labor, figures prominently. So does Gurlie, his Norse wife, the lusty lady of more Hunnish than Norwegian stateliness. (Her harshness grates on the reader's sensibility as her name does on his ear and eye.) Again we meet the well-nigh Shakespearean personage, the baby girl Flossie, mysterious parallel of the spring and the landscape. Placed in 1900, the actions revealing these characters, through which they change and learn and visibly increase (even poor Gurlie's stunted being finally expands), are the events in Joe's battle to pass into the capitalist class at the instigation of his own growing individualism but also of Gurlie's unleashed selfishness and ambitions: these and the natural events in which their infant attains self-consciousness and the unnatural, hateful scene between Gurlie and her old mother that deals the baby its first mental blow. What again is intended is a measurement of the forces transforming the characters of immigrants and recapitulating the life of the race. The still incomplete series continued by "In the Money" promises to prove Williams's "The Making of Americans."

The story's faults may be the familiar ones. The tension occasionally weakens: from chapter five to chapter thirteen the continuity approaches the loose one of a chronicle. The frequency with which the dramatic method of the bare dialogue is exploited also fatigues at times. There still is a superfluity of medical moralizing. However, these faults are less obtrusive here than heretofore. By and large, the well-varied scenes are cumulatively built up, fully conveying the author's meanings. Pictorial touches oftentimes lend atmosphere to the stretching dialogues. The wonderfully truthful expressions of character and manners and speech again include contrasts of city streets and countryside, but this time represent fragments of the political as well as of the business and domestic spheres; and the intuition in the realm of the semi-conscious life of small children verges on the prodigious.

Meanwhile, the driving style functions as an all-pervading image of the author's general feeling. Perfectly it conveys the tones of the drab, periodically brightening and smiling range of life under observation; and from time to time movingly develops a lyricism above its constant symbolic stature.

PAUL ROSENFELD

Impassioned Niceness

PATTERN OF A DAY. By Robert Hillyer. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

ROBERT HILLYER'S poems come to us covered with honors. "In Time of Mistrust" was delivered at the College of William and Mary for the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of that learned society Phi Beta Kappa. "In a Quiet Country House at Night" was read as Phi Beta Kappa poem at Goucher College. So much academic attention is seldom paid to a poet who has not safely arrived. Mr. Hillyer won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1934. And yet, in his present volume, he seems not so much like a poet who has safely arrived as like a man who has never departed from safety.

Mr. Hillyer says that his attitude toward the world is modeled on that of Samuel Johnson.

> By niceness impassioned,
> His mood, like his tense,
> Was fantasy fashioned
> From strict common sense.

There are indeed points of resemblance. It has been said of Dr. Johnson that the virtue he had invariably before his imagination was his own; Mr. Hillyer is quite consistently engaged with his own merits. His poems are often didactic in intent but so personal in their complacency and conceit that it is improbable they will persuade anyone to follow his counsel. Common sense was good in the eighteenth century and ought to be in ours. But Dr. Johnson's poetic manners were already somewhat antiquated in his own day; they would scarcely carry over into ours, even though someone with the facility in verse of Mr. Hillyer attempted—as he has not—to revive them. He comes closer to our own age. He writes not as an Augustan poet but as one who intended to contribute to the Georgian anthologies. He combines a more or less conventional poetic idiom with a more or less careless colloquialism. It is the mood, not the tense, of Dr. Johnson he aspires to.

The trouble with the common-sense attitude for a poet is that to adopt it is to ignore the tragic complications of life. In Mr. Hillyer's case, it is hard not to believe it has,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meant ignoring life itself, unless we are to consider that a man

> With a checkbook before him
> And schedules to bore him

is at the center and core of being. He is serenely closed in his "temperate dominion," with not only his checkbook but his conscience before him and, like a good New Englander, with both scrupulously in order. "I know," he says, "my temptations will never begin." He is aware of getting on in years, but also of getting on nicely. His "Pattern of a Day" is to die the academic death daily, between eight o'clock in the morning and midnight. Sometimes then, snow or storm without, doubts assail him and the sense of mortality. But not for long; for no doubt could long survive in the presence of such complacency. Indifferent to everything but his private peace, he still, after midnight, has moments when he knows it is a false peace. They are soon dismissed for the calm of sleep. Surely this is the very reverse of Dr. Johnson, who was impassioned, but not always for nicety, who knew only transient calm and none which for more than a moment could for him "lull the sense of woe." JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Tory Through and Through

OLIVER WISWELL. By Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

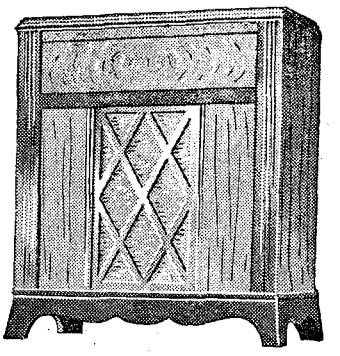
IN A new novel of over eight hundred pages Kenneth Roberts tells a story of the Revolution with an almost unique hero: a Loyalist, or Tory, who not only starts out by mistrusting the Sam Adams mobs but, unlike most Tory heroes who later see the light, works against the rebels through eight long years of war and remains steadfastly unregenerate, finally settling in Canada like a good many other colonists who shared his political convictions. Even his own first-hand view of the criminally stupid mismanagement of the war's military campaigns by the British, in Boston, New York, and the western territories, fails to shake his faith in established law and order, or to reconcile him to the riotous excesses of the insurgent rabble, their brutal persecution of all dissenting minorities, their apparent scorn of reason and education and private property. Except for this unconventional but excellently sustained point of view, the story follows much the usual pattern, with plenty of stirring battles and intrigues and hairbreadth escapes, and, of course, a sweetheart in the opposing camp who waits, as all sweethearts should, until love has a chance to triumph over politics. But Mr. Roberts has done a real service in presenting adequately—for the first time, as far as I know—the case of a good many thousands of colonists like Oliver Wiswell, well-educated, thoughtful, public-spirited citizens who very sincerely and on quite plausible grounds regarded the uprising as a menace to the country they loved, and who made as many sacrifices in defense of their views as did any "patriot" on the other side. And from the point of view of good novel-writing, he deserves a medal for having resisted the temptation to let his hero succumb to a last-minute conversion and whoop it up repentantly but unconvincingly for a government which he had so long opposed. LOUIS B. SALOMON

Value to match superb performance!

Lafayette

8 tube • 3 band radio-phonograph

$59.95



A radio-phonograph so impressive in styling, in tone and performance is indeed a value at this low Lafayette price. For your complete musical enjoyment, Lafayette engineers have skillfully combined a powerful 8 tube superheterodyne radio that gets Europe direct, with an automatic mixer changer that handles both 10 and 12 inch records in any assortment. All parts in this superb combination have been carefully matched to bring you, in the Lafayette tradition, utmost fidelity of tone. You'll like everything about Combination Model JS-128, including Lafayette's value-price. Convenient time payments can be arranged.

There are dozens of other Lafayette Combinations in a wide variety of custom cabinets. See them at Lafayette's showrooms or write for new FREE catalog today.

Lafayette Radio

100 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y.
901 W. JACKSON BLVD., CHICAGO • 265 PEACHTREE ST., ATLANTA
110 FEDERAL ST., BOSTON • 24 CENTRAL AVE., NEWARK
542 E. FORDHAM RD., BRONX • 90-08 166th ST., JAMAICA, L. I.
Special display at 133 West 44th St. New York City

"No one else in America has approached the world we live in with such unflinching insight." Lewis Mumford.

Reinhold Niebuhr's

Christianity and Power Politics

"It is among those concerned with political and economic affairs that its teaching must penetrate," writes Lewis Mumford of this stimulating discussion of power politics and their shattering effect upon the moral fiber of the modern world.

Dr. Niebuhr is concerned with such timely and momentous questions as "Must Democracy Use Force?" "Why the Christian Church Is Not Pacifist."

$2.00

at bookstores SCRIBNERS · NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Forty-five Days

CHRONOLOGY OF FAILURE: THE LAST DAYS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

IF Napoleon did not exaggerate when he said that all history is but a fable agreed upon, this is still more true of "contemporary history," inasmuch as the adjective attaches dubiety to whatever truth there might be in the noun. During a war the account of events in belligerent countries invariably serves propaganda, and this makes it almost impossible to unravel the facts and their implications.

Pliny, recording the last days of Pompeii nineteen centuries ago, certainly had an easier task than that imposed by Mr. Armstrong upon himself—to relate conscientiously the events of those last days of the French Republic which four months ago shook the civilized part of the world. Yet this "chronology" of the disastrous forty-five days is not merely a scrupulously sifted account of what happened but, in spite of the gravity of the subject, a thriller pulsating with life. In addition to all available information the author made use of his personal observations, his acquaintance with the actors of the tragedy, and, above all, his admirable power of judgment in predicting the sequence of events.

At the time of the Battle of Guadalajara, when the dress rehearsal of the current Armageddon was still under way, Armstrong published a book entitled "We or They." Has Flandin, have the incurable Chamberlainites in this country ever read his ominous warning. I wonder? Are their successors, the investment-rescuing appeasers, the isolationists, the "pacifist comrades," are they going to read and to heed this one? Statesmen, as a rule, do not like to read books revealing disagreeable truths.

Although the immanent causes of the nervous breakdown of France at the first severe blow are yet to be probed, it appears from Armstrong's book that France was doomed before the war began. Among the many contributing factors the author lists first the lack of coordination between foreign and military policy. France undertook the expedition into Belgium without the prerequisites set by its own General Staff. Even after the Belgian resistance failed, the French high command did not modify its tactics. War material was insufficient, but the main point remains that "all the time the French were fighting the Germans they were fighting each other also." In this fight, after August, 1939, many men of the extreme left and the extreme right reached out their hands round the circle." This is how the French Lewises and Browders met the French Girdlers and Fords. Over here they have met thus far only in an electoral campaign. Would they join forces in case a "Battle of America" should be fought?

"What are the lessons for us?" This is the pertinent question Mr. Armstrong asks in the last chapter. After Fascists and Nazis had convinced the world of their spiritual supremacy by the use of castor oil, guns, and clubs, British and French statesmen were guilty of both failure of imagination and failure of will. This resulted in disastrous appeasement. Britain eventually stiffened, but France became a slave to the Nazis. The forty-eight-hours-a-week German workers enslaved the forty-hours-a-week French workers.

For all nations not yet enslaved there is a lesson in the French tragedy. Labor, to achieve its ends, must put off its just economic claims until respect for human dignity and civil liberties are restored. Until then both labor and capital will be but drudges in the bondage of a ruthless gang. Socialism cannot do without the weapon of freedom. Violence may be the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, but what violence alone brings forth will most likely be a still-birth. Freedom can only prevail if it is controlled by ethics, or, as F. A. Voigt has put it, absolute freedom is the prelude to absolute despotism; it becomes so tolerant that it tolerates even those who are ready to overthrow it. Whoever reads H. F. Armstrong's masterly book—and it should be a duty of every American statesman to read it—will realize how fateful may be the hesitation to discern what is at stake in the struggle which the author so clearly laid before us in "We or They."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Last Reminder of

Thirty-fifth Anniversary Dinner

League for Industrial Democracy

Thursday, November 28, — 6:30 P. M.

HOTEL EDISON — New York City

"Where Do We Go From Here?"

JOHN DEWEY : JONATHAN DANIELS
NORMAN THOMAS . HARRY W. LAIDLER
and others

Order Tickets, $2.00 a cover from
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 EAST 19TH STREET NEW YORK CITY

Exploring by Books

ART OF THE FAR EAST. Under Direction of Dr. H. M. Zbinden. Introduction by René Grousset. 15 color reproductions; 10 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $2.75. *FRENCH CATHEDRAL WINDOWS.* Introduction by Marcel Aubert. 19 plates in 12 colors; 10 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $3. *ENGLISH WATER COLORS.* Introduction by Laurence Binyon. 12 plates in color; 6 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $2.50. *EL GRECO.* Edited by Ludwig Goldscheider. 232 plates in photogravure; 13 plates in color; 30 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *RUBENS, PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS.* Introduction by R. A. M. Stevenson. 232 reproductions; 6 color plates; 7 folding plates; 302 pages. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $2.50. *MASTERPIECES OF EUROPEAN PAINTING IN AMERICA.* Edited by Hans Tietze. 317 reproductions; 14 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *AUGUSTE RODIN.* Introduction by Sommerville Story. 119 reproductions in monochrome photogravure; 26 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *MAILLOL.* Introduction by John Rewald. 160 reproductions; 26 pages of text. Paris: Hyperion Press. New York: Art Book Publications. $2.98.

IN THE matter of art books, as in a visit to another country, one may choose either an omnibus or a vehicle which makes, so to say, but a few limited stops. It all depends upon what one wishes to see. The omnibus need not be, as it often is, an eight-pound book of masterpieces, or imply the desire to look at everything and see nothing. The Oxford Univer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sity Press has already abundantly demonstrated the contrary. Indeed, in such volumes, for example, as "The Impressionists" and "Art Without Epoch" it has shown that inclusiveness need not imply any vulgarity whatever.

To these and other meritorious publications of the Phaidon Press, Oxford recently added a new group of Iris books of more limited scope. They make only a few "stops," but at triple-starred items. They were supervised by a scholar and a man of taste, Dr. Hans Zbinden, of Berne, Switzerland, and have been handsomely produced. The most notable is "Art of the Far East." There are only fifteen plates. But what plates! Lotus flowers and Wordsworthian waterfalls, mountain tops cut off by mist, speckled birds of gorgeous plumage. Perhaps the finest of all is a fisherman asleep in a skiff. He lies there in a wonderful dream of old China, reeds bending beneath his boat and the moon smiling—every detail in place and the color perfectly controlled. Seldom does one see such quality of reproduction in an American art book so modestly priced.

"French Cathedral Windows" gives the pleasure of a trip to the great religious edifices of medieval France. It admirably recreates that "vibrating, shining, dancing, refracted light which is the glory of the stained-glass windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." "English Water Colors" is somewhat less impressive. No doubt this is chargeable to the originals. For how can painting be interesting if no warming color breaks through the sky?

Returning again to the more compendious type of volume, Oxford gives us in the Phaidon "El Greco" the smoky caverns and fire-lit passages of a consummate religious painter. The black-and-white reproductions, particularly the handsome enlargements, make this the best book on Greco at the price. The "Rubens," however, is barely adequate, and the "Masterpieces of European Painting in America" is likewise one of Phaidon's less happy omnibus excursions.

Infinitely better is the "Auguste Rodin." It would have pleased the sculptor himself. Beginning with his Cato-like father (1860), it incorporates the more important of his works. Here the photography of sculpture is notable. Light flickers along the surfaces, bringing out the "bumps and hollows" until the feverish Rodin almost steps out of the pages. If a few more water colors had been included, the résumé of the artist's work would be complete.

Maillol, the foremost French sculptor since the death of Rodin, is presented for the first time in English in this book from the Hyperion Press. The patriarchal artist was himself in constant touch with the volume during production, and it is stamped by his feeling in the arrangement and choice of examples and in the emphasis upon development rather than chronology. Both its text and its reproductions of Maillol tapestries, water colors, paintings, woodcuts, and sculpture make it a deeply refreshing book.

All of these books have merit. But why does not Oxford take us on a trip or two into America? Why not, for example, an Iris Book to explore the beauties of our water colorists Winslow Homer, John Marin, Dodge MacKnight, and Charles Demuth? And why not a first-rate Phaidon to identify for all time the landmarks in the virtually uncharted American art of today?

JEROME MELLQUIST

GEORGE SELDES

The author of *Lords of the Press* and *Sawdust Caesar* exposes redbaiting, tells the story behind it by baring the individuals and the powerful interests that indulge in it. He makes clear its significance in terms of injustices to men and women and its effect on our nation's fate. $2.75.

"Mr. Seldes' excursion into entomology turns up many crawling things."—*Charles A. Beard.*

WITCH HUNT

The Technique and Profits of Redbaiting

MODERN AGE BOOKS 432 FOURTH AVENUE, N.Y.

To keep abreast of HISTORY in the MAKING

FILL OUT AND MAIL THIS

Order Form

THE NATION • 55 FIFTH AVE. • NEW YORK

In order for me to keep abreast of history in the making, please enter my subscription to *The Nation* for the period indicated below. I inclose $.....

☐ One Year $5

☐ Two Years $8

☐ Three Years $11

Special Introductory Offer

☐ 13 Weeks $1

Name.....

Address.....

.....

11-23-40

For further details see outside back cover

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN BRIEF

JOHN FOXE AND HIS BOOK. By J. F. Mozley. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

A scholarly and very readable biography of the celebrated Protestant pamphleteer and author of "The Book of Martyrs." Mr. Mozley's aim is the frankly partisan one of establishing Foxe's accuracy and honesty, and defending him against his attackers, who have been legion. He succeeds so well that the reader, after seeing Maitland and his crew of vilifiers ripped into shreds, is perhaps left with too flattering a portrait of the eccentric martyrologist. Foxe himself offers a fertile field for study; a psychologist—which Mr. Mozley is not, and does not attempt to be—would find good pickings in a man who could describe countless hangings, torturings, and burnings of Protestant martyrs with infinite relish and attention to detail, and yet make himself known to his age as a strenuous opponent of corporal punishment for religious differences.

A DICTIONARY OF CLICHES. By Eric Partridge. The Macmillan Company. $2.

This book by the author of the monumental (cliché) "Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English" should prove a delight to the scholarly reader and a terror to the writer of conscientious English. No phrase is safe from the suspicion of Mr. Partridge. "The Grapes of Wrath," "Rabelaisian humor," "casual remark," or "casual encounter," "indistinguishably mixed," "of course," are censorable with so many others that it is difficult to review his book without sinning. Idioms, hackneyed phrases, familiar quotations, tags from the classics, pretentious Gallicisms are arranged for easy reference with their definitions, sources, and dates of currency—a useful compilation, surely, though the author draws rather nice distinctions (cliché) between those which are superfluous—half of Bartlett would have to go overboard—and those still serviceable as ballast to the common man's speech.

DUSK OF DAWN. By W. E. B. DuBois. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

Considerable beauty and sound decision are to be found in this autobiography of Mr. DuBois, the Negro educator and historian, but unfortunately it is so concerned with the general racial question that it provides but a dim portrait of that extraordinary man himself. He tells crisply of his boyhood, of his studies at Harvard and the universities of Paris and Berlin, of his fourteen years as professor of economics and history at Atlanta University, of his thirty-one years as director of publications and research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of his editorial association with the *Crisis* since 1909. Now at the age of seventy-two he is more than ever confident that the Negroes' primary need in America is self-segregation for economic defense. Soberly and explicitly he states and explains why "black folk are much superior to white" and "black folk are the salvation of mankind." His book is no petition; it is a personal bill of rights.

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG DOG. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $2.50.

A rare book. Mr. Thomas, a Welshman and one of the most gifted poets of the post-Auden generation, tells the story of his youth. As might be expected, this is no flat-footed recitation of events but a record of unfolding sensibility as seen through selected episodes. The book is acutely alive, frankly sensuous yet delicate, racy in its humor but showing also an exquisite spiritual earnestness. D. H. Lawrence would have liked Mr. Thomas. So would Rilke.

BLITZKRIEG. By S. L. A. Marshall. William Morrow and Co. $2.

Mr. Marshall, the military critic of the Detroit *News*, attempts to analyze the nature of *Blitzkrieg* and to advise Americans on how to prepare for it. Since this is a big order and the book is small, one would have expected the author to be succinct. Instead he wastes much space on patriotic fustian and editorial platitudes. Perhaps Mr. Marshall's mental forces are themselves in a dangerous state of inefficiency. One suspects that he lacks the knowledge which would have enabled him to stick to a detailed discussion of military tactics.

WHAT ARE MASTERPIECES. By Gertrude Stein. The Conference Press. $2.50.

Miss Stein's celebrated Oxford-Cambridge lectures of a decade or so ago—"Composition as Explanation," "An American and France," and "What Are Masterpieces"—are here printed for the first time, together with some poems, and illustrated by two drawings by Picabia. It is perhaps superfluous at this date to say that Miss Stein's writings not only are stimulating but actually mean something.

DRAMA

Decline and Fall

OF THE four new plays produced on Broadway during the last two weeks, three dealt with the movie colony in Hollywood and the other one with a summer theater. This lack of originality, epidemic though it appears, is not in itself sufficient to form the basis for far-reaching deductions, and neither, perhaps, is the additional fact that all four were pretty generally admitted to be trifling, feeble, and amateurish. Unfortunately, however, the level of activity and achievement reached during the two weeks just past is approximately what reviewers have this year come to expect. It is now near the middle of November; in the good old days the theatrical season was by this time in full swing; yet not a single new play of even passing interest has been produced so far, and, leaving the musicals aside, there is no doubt about the fact that the playgoer's best bet at the moment is—of all things—a revival of "Charley's Aunt."

These facts make for dismal reflections among those who, like myself, have boasted that the last two decades have been the most interesting in American dramatic history and that our playwrights have won for themselves an honorable place in literary annals. Add the fact that since 1929 the number of new productions per year has declined precipitously as well as almost continuously, and one begins to wonder whether our theater is entering that depression into which the European theater began to sink some fifteen years or more ago. It is obvious that in England the succeeding generation did not equal the work of Shaw, Galsworthy, and Barrie; Germany and France, except for two or three farces by Jacques Deval, ceased to produce importable work some years ago; and it has been some time since I have heard the most enthusiastic of pro-Russians talk much about the new drama of the Soviets. Even in the case of the Irish playwrights the succession from Synge to O'Casey to Paul Vincent Carroll involves a diminuendo, though the phenomenon is perhaps less marked here than elsewhere. One wonders if the impulse is exhausting itself in America also, if O'Neill and Howard and Behr-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man and Rice and the rest are to have no successors. Of the leading playwrights only two have produced new plays this year. Is it more than an accident that Maxwell Anderson's contribution should have been merely dull and the comedy by George Kaufman and Moss Hart uninventive and thin?

The trouble does not seem to lie in audiences. Several of the feeble new offerings have enjoyed better business than was reasonably to be expected. Neither—despite the dispute over terms recently engaged in between playwrights and producers on the one hand and would-be backers from Hollywood on the other—does the diminished rate of production seem to be explained by any unwillingness on the part of the entrepreneurs to risk their money. The general complaint seems to be that few promising scripts are coming to light, that it is the playwright who is failing rather than either the audience or the producer. By the time this appears the Theater Guild will have launched its revival of "Twelfth Night" with Maurice Evans and Helen Hayes. If the venture proves successful there will probably be other revivals to take their places alongside it and "Charley's Aunt."

As for possible reasons for the decline in playwriting, I have none to offer beyond the obvious one that the times are out of joint—if that is not, as I firmly believe that it is, a preposterously inadequate way of describing the situation. Everyone says to himself from time to time that the concerns of normal life seem for the moment inadmissible preoccupations, but it is not, I suspect, such conscious convictions which most affect literary productivity. Men cease to write plays not so much because they are consciously convinced that this is no time for playwriting as quite simply because, whatever their conscious convictions may be, their minds are elsewhere, and the man who proclaims the slogan "artistic business as usual" is almost as incapable of actually attending to that business as the one who is formally convinced that such business ought not now to be attended to. Not long ago a man of letters well known for his consistently epicurean attitude reaffirmed to me in private conversation his conviction that the more troubled the times the more obvious was the wisdom of the injunction "Eat, drink, and be merry." "But," he added ruefully, "the trouble is that I just don't feel like eating or drinking." Literature may flourish in tranquil times; it may also give expression to resolution and passion. Perhaps it cannot exist in an atmosphere of anxiety, bewilderment, and fearful anticipation.

To those who think that they can be merry, "Panama Hattie" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) may be recommended. Ethel Merman, delightful as ever, is the star, and the whole production has a good deal of both the pictorial brilliance and the vigorous animal spirits one has come to expect in Buddy De Sylva's productions of Cole Porter shows, though the influence of the war must account for the theme of De Sylva's book, which this time has to do with a hearty but pure sweetheart of the navy upon whom a little child exercises a refining influence and who finally foils a dastardly plot to blow up the Canal. Some competent judges prefer "Panama Hattie" to last year's "Du Barry Was a Lady." I do not, but we won't argue the point.

Of the four plays mentioned at the beginning of this piece the best is "Quiet Please" (Guild Theater). Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it seems the best, and that the fact is due to the presence of Jane Wyatt, who manages to give warmth and charm to the stereotyped role of the movie star determined to prepare gander sauce for an erring husband. One or two scenes are well written. The incidental business intended to create an "inside the studios" atmosphere is clumsy and ineffectual.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

"FANTASIA," the newest Walt Disney production, is a promising monstrosity and an experiment containing many lessons. There is enough in it to make up for the shocks one suffers. And to be shocked in these times of blood and tears by the handling of a problem of art is in itself an experience of temporary relief.

The essentially new and essentially problematic in "Fantasia" is the use of great music as accompaniment for Walt Disney cartoons. To be sure we are told that it is the other way around, and no doubt the intent was the opposite one, but the effects achieved are nevertheless Walt Disney plus Bach or Beethoven. And the audience applauded exactly where it would have applauded if the score had been composed by a Hollywood musician. Specific pictorial innovations of characteristic Walt Disney charm delighted most. Yet to have the Pastoral Symphony interrupted by applause for sugar-sweet centaurettes is painful.

The program tells us that Walt Disney and his staff, "faced with the tremendous problem of translating the music of 'Fantasia' [Bach, Beethoven, Dukas, Stravinsky, Ponchielli, Moussorgsky, Schubert] into pictures, simply listened and tried to capture the moods, movements, situations, colors, and characters which the music painted on the canvas of their imaginations." The result is, the program continues, "that kind of entertainment which has been described as 'seeing music and hearing pictures.' "

I belong to those who had no need of that kind of entertainment, being content with seeing pictures and hearing music. And I was never particularly concerned whether I had to hear, see (read), or smell in order to have a great experience. In "Fantasia" the paintings on the canvas of Walt Disney's and his staff's imagination did not help but most of the time disturbed my appreciation of the music they tried to make me "see." One of two reasons, or both of them, may be chiefly responsible: either these imaginations did not live up to Bach and Beethoven and Schubert, or the whole idea of adding pictures to music composed to be appreciated best with the eyes closed is fundamentally wrong. I am sure of the first reason, not so sure of the second. There is a short moment in "Fantasia" when picture and music fit admirably together, and the experience is heightened by the combination; this is the moment in "Night on Bald Mountain" when the Black God reaches down into the village (art direction by Key Nielsen). But generally the discrepancy between pictures and music is deplorable, especially between the Pastoral and the sweet Olympus of the scene, or between the "Rite of Spring" and its popular-science illustrations, or between the Ave Maria and the *Kitsch* landscapes. And no wonder! There just does not exist—not even in Hollywood and not even in Walt Disney's admirable company—a staff of geniuses. One would need a Michelangelo or a Breughel to "picture" the music of Beethoven.

Where the music itself deals with a more or less conventional story, like Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" (Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*), there is of course no problem, and one can enjoy Disney at his known best. Mickey Mouse as apprentice is a natural, and more delightful than ever. The same holds for the picturing of such ballet music as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ponchielli's "Dance of the Hours." Disney uses this score for an unforgettable parody, his dancers being elephants, rhinoceroses, and ostriches. Profoundly sound, too, is the visualization of the "Nutcracker Suite," music also written around a story. It does not matter that Disney's fantasy is different from that of the original Nutcracker tale. In certain details he achieves here the best effects he has ever achieved. The mushroom dancers will be loved all over the world —may the whole world soon be able to see them!

In technical respects the picture is of unsurpassed quality. New methods and tricks of all kinds had to be invented to produce the hundreds of new effects never seen before. In the color photography, in the lighting—everywhere one notices great progress.

"Fantasia," in spite of shortcomings partly due to the exploring character of the whole, partly to fundamental errors, is a work of promise. One day, one feels, Walt Disney and his people may produce a film which will truly combine all the different branches of art.

Leopold Stokowski, with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and Deems Taylor, functioning also as the film's commentator, are responsible for the musical aspects of the picture, with which Mr. Haggin will concern himself. I leave to him also discussion of the new technique, "Fantasound," especially designed for the recording and reproduction of "Fantasia."

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

THE concerto literature—and specifically the great series of Mozart concertos—recorded by Toscanini with great solo artists is something to dream about. But Toscanini, like other conductors, has not regarded this literature as part of what he should set before the public with the collaboration of the greatest artists available. Instead, like other conductors, he has treated the concerto as something to be taken with a soloist; and with soloists who have been chosen from celebrated performers for personal reasons—friends, relatives, friends' relatives, some good musicians, some not—he has taken, for the most part, the familiar works that soloists most often bring with them. Never once has he invited Szigeti, the greatest artist among violinists, or Schnabel, a towering figure among pianists, to collaborate with him; and aside from Mozart's K. 467 once for Iturbi and K. 595 once for Serkin, the works have been repeatedly Beethoven's Violin Concerto and Piano Concerto No. 5 and the concertos of Brahms. And now he has made a recording of the Beethoven Violin Concerto with the solo part played by Heifetz (Set 705, $5).

The fact that Beethoven wrote this work should not blind us to the fact that it is one of his less impressive achievements (I am not forgetting wonderful pages in the development section of the first movement; I am remembering other pages); and Heifetz's dazzling tone and technical ease should not blind us to the musical inadequacy of phrasing that is either silken and suave or swooning and mincing. In exciting contrast to this from the very first entrance of the violin is Szigeti's dynamic phrasing in the older Columbia set; moreover, while Toscanini's orchestral framework has the wonderful tonal and plastic qualities of his performances, Bruno Walter builds well around Szigeti's playing; and the Szigeti-Walter version offers a somewhat slower-paced, more deeply probing treatment of the work. The newer recording has greater fidelity and clarity, but also some of the woodenness of Toscanini's recent American recording; the older has, with sufficient fidelity and clarity, greater warmth and depth.

Stokowski's orchestral arrangement of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition" (Set 706, $4.50) comes with his customary statement about the greatness unfulfilled in the mere sketch for piano that Mussorgsky produced, and now brought to fulfillment in an orchestration with which, as always, Stokowski "aimed to preserve and express [the] Slavic character" of the work, as Ravel's "Gallic manner" did not. It is only to be expected that a man with so little musical understanding as not to perceive how completely Mussorgsky realized his intentions in his original piano version would produce the fussy and lush and lurid orchestral arrangement with which Stokowski falsifies these intentions and the essential character of the work far more than Ravel did. Stokowski also has cut out sections; and unless the work is for you only what it is for him —a collection of gorgeous-sounding, superbly recorded orchestral effects (the inevitable sound of a gong dying out occurs at the end of sides 7 and 8)—you will prefer the old Koussevitzky set.

Kerstin Thorborg's "Wagnerian Characterizations" (Set 707, $3.50) include Erda's Warning from "Das Rheingold" and two "bleeding chunks" (Tovey's characterization) of the Fricka-Wotan debate in "Die Walküre" (17221), Waltraute's Narrative from "Götterdämmerung" (17222), and "Ich sah das Kind" from "Parsifal" and Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan" (17223). The last of these is one of the great pages in Wagner; the "Parsifal" music I find tortuously arid; the others I cannot endure. Thorborg's tremolo clouds the first "Walküre" excerpt; but elsewhere her sumptuous voice and superb musicianship are exciting. The recording is good; but on the "Tristan" side, instead of the orchestra close at hand and the voice coming from a distance, we get the voice right up to the microphone and almost completely blanketing the orchestra.

Only the concluding six-voiced fugue from Bach's "Musikalisches Opfer" has been available until now, recorded by a string orchestra under Edwin Fischer. Now Victor gives us (Set 709, $6.50) the entire collection of fugues, canons, and trio sonata that Bach wrote to demonstrate to Frederick the Great his prodigious skill in contrapuntal manipulation. The technical skill that went into the writing of the work is evident to me; if emotion was also involved it has not been revealed yet by my few hearings of the set. Even the six-voiced fugue, which was and still is so impressive stated in the gravely sustained and rich sonorities of Fischer's strings, I find unimpressive in the almost blithely staccato performance by the little group of excellent woodwinds and strings that recorded it for this set. And elsewhere Yella Pessl continues to display her ability—unfortunately not unique—to make the harpsichord unattractive.

A fine single disc (17456, $1) offers beautiful singing by Tibbett of Handel's "Where'er you walk" from "Semele" and "Defend her! Heaven" from "Theodora." Another (17480, $1) offers one of Strauss's best songs, "Ruhe, meine Seele," and one of Schubert's lesser products, the "Wiegenlied" Opus 105 No. 2, sung by Helen Traubel with excellent musical taste and with her powerful voice unclouded by the tremolo that afflicts her musically undistinguished singing of Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin" and Schubert's "Aufenthalt" on another single (16345, $1.)

B. H. HAGGIN

[Through an unfortunate error *The Nation* printed a brief review of William Saroyan's "My Name Is Aram" in the issue of November 2. The book will not be available until December 26.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Willkie and "The Nation"

Dear Sirs: In the present status of the liberal movement the article called Wendell Willkie Reneges in *The Nation* of November 2 calls for comment. I realize of course that *The Nation,* like any other magazine, must have been disappointed when the article in question was not available to it, and I can understand a feeling of irritation on Miss Kirchwey's part. On the other hand, the very word "liberalism" implies willingness to attempt to grasp the other person's viewpoint, and it is obvious that Miss Kirchwey's antagonism to Mr. Willkie made it impossible for her to make any attempt to give Mr. Willkie a break.

Mr. Willkie made hundreds of speeches in a few weeks, fifty in the last fifteen days of the campaign. Those who know him realize that he insisted on a personal supervision of everything that appeared over his name, which meant a tremendous burden upon him. Contrary to Miss Kirchwey's implication, Mr. Willkie never said that he composed all of every speech he delivered. That would be obviously impossible because of the limitations of time alone. Every important candidate has to have research men compile data for him. The important thing is that Mr. Willkie saw to it that what he said really represented the essence of his philosophy. If that philosophy did not satisfy Miss Kirchwey, that is of course her privilege, but there was no occasion for slurring a man simply because in one of the most vigorous campaigns in American history he did not find time for *The Nation.*

Miss Kirchwey should realize that in such a political campaign it was necessary for Mr. Willkie to get his philosophy across to a large number of independent thinkers. I have been a reader of *The Nation* for many years and found it an interesting magazine, but certainly no one would contend that it has a decisive influence on American thought. Mr. Willkie therefore faced the necessity of using mediums which have a bigger following with the American public and mediums with less initial bias against him.

If the Republican candidate's liberalism is a "delicate pent-house variety that Mr. Willkie dare not expose to analytical eyes or informed minds," I wonder what Miss Kirchwey would call a liberalism of which the strongest sponsors are Hague, Kelly, Flynn, Guffey, and the starry-eyed group following them. Many of us will take Mr. Willkie's variety. VIRGIL C. SULLIVAN

Rye, N. Y., November 12

[Mr. Sullivan conveniently overlooks the main point, that is, that Wendell Willkie's advisers thought *The Nation* of sufficient influence, whether or not "decisive," to take the initiative in arranging to have the Republican candidate express his views in its pages. He appears furthermore to disagree with his hero on the subject of ghost-writing, Mr. Willkie himself having explained: "I have never in my life delivered a speech which I haven't written myself and I am not going to change my habits now." Hague and Company followed what Mr. Sullivan calls the "starry-eyed group" rather than the other way round —and for reasons which we can hardly believe Mr. Sullivan is politically innocent enough not to understand.— EDITORS THE NATION.]

The "Christian Question"

Dear Sirs: Most periodicals appearing currently contain some reference to the "Jewish question." A great variety of persons "look at the Jewish question." Aside from the war and the New Deal, it seems to be the most looked-at object in the social landscape of the day. For a change it may be interesting for a Jew to look at the "Christian question."

While I am a Jew, I am an American above all things, and a fervid adherent of the principles of a democratic society. I have always lived in one of our large industrial cities, my family covering a span of five generations in America. I am senior executive of an old manufacturing establishment, and have been active all my adult life in the civic, cultural, and social affairs of my city. Many of my best friends are Christians, if I may reverse the usual formula, and I have never been hampered or inhibited in any of my activities or aspirations because I am a Jew; at least, not to my knowledge. I have even found myself in the position of impartial arbiter on a matter concerning a difference between two Christian groups. This prelude is merely to show that I am not a bruised spirit, and have no feeling of resentment impelling me to retaliation.

As a Jew I am compelled to look at a Christian world, and cannot avoid the question: "What have they done with it?" I see Christianity made up of innumerable groups and sects. I see the teachings and precepts of the Founder, the divine inspiration of Christianity, ignored and rejected by a vast number of those professing to be his followers. I see the supposed disciples of the Man of Peace waging relentless and cruel wars. I see cynical and bestial torturing of helpless minorities and defenseless nations by their Christian oppressors. I see men in priestly robes inciting to hatred and violence. I see the very foundations of civilization, established in a Christian world, weakened and perhaps crumbling under the assault of peoples who, for centuries, have been reared in the principles and belief of Christian ethics.

This Jew considers the "Christian question," and wonders if and how Christians will answer. N. S.

Cleveland, Ohio, November 13

A Problem in Democracy

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of November 9 appeared a letter by Robert R. Hume which revealed a misunderstanding of the provision for conscientious objectors under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

The act provides that conscientious objectors, judged sincere, may perform non-combatant service with the armed forces or "work of national importance under civilian direction." They are not compelled to perform *any* military service.

General Lewis B. Hershey, who headed the Selective Service machinery in its formative stages, and Dr. Clarence Dykstra, the director, have viewed the problem of the conscientious objector with real sympathy and understanding They have been conscious that it was a problem in democracy and that its handling would mark the difference between the United States and the totalitarian nations.

Only about thirty-six boys felt compelled to refuse to register, but even these thirty-six are causing the government real concern inasmuch as all the officials handling the problem are anx-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ious to interpret the law in the spirit in which Congress recognized the right of the individual conscience.

The "work of national importance" will be definitely civilian controlled, and there is no evidence that any government agency is attempting to place boys in a type of work which will permit, at a later date, a transfer to military control. Of course, in these days of total war it is difficult to establish any type of work which does not, directly or indirectly, mesh with the whole defense machinery. But after five months of close association with the problem I am convinced that such an attempt is honestly being made.

PAUL COMLY FRENCH,
Friends' War Problems Committee
Philadelphia, November 14

Naturalization for Hindus

Dear Sirs: On November 18 the United States District Court in San Francisco will hear my petition for naturalization. I am aware that, in accordance with a ruling of the United States Supreme Court in 1923 which declared Hindus ineligible to American citizenship, the District Court has no choice but to deny my petition, despite my personal qualifications. This denial, however, marks the opening of the entire question of the right of Hindus to citizenship.

Before 1923 Hindus were duly granted American citizenship under Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that the Naturalization Act "shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." In that year, however, Justice Sutherland, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, held that, whatever the ethnologists might say, a high-caste Hindu of full Indian blood was not a white person within the meaning of the law. He wanted the words of the statute "to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man."

Interesting as was the Justice's decision, it was contrary to the conclusions of the ethnologists, opposed to the views of the common man, who, if he has a high-school education, knows that Hindus are members of the Caucasian race, and at variance with the facts, inasmuch as Hindus are subject to assimilation like the people from the Near East, Southern Europeans, and Mexicans.

The discrimination against Hindus in respect to naturalization is not only capricious and untenable but, as my attorney and I plan to bring to the attention of the people through court proceedings, also in violation of constitutional provisions. I intend to request the United States Supreme Court to reconsider its former decision, which has caused untold hardships to about 4,000 Hindus, one-fourth of whom are married to American citizens.

I am sure that *Nation* readers and the general public will lend their support to enable justice to prevail in this country, which now is the only secure citadel of liberty, democracy, and fair play in the world.

KHARAITI R. SAMRAS
Berkeley, Cal., November 12

Help Odell Waller!

Dear Sirs: On August 16, 1940, Odell Waller, young Negro share-cropper, drove with his mother, his uncle, and a friend, in a neighbor's truck, to collect the share owed him by Oscar Davis, his landlord. Waller and his wife and mother had been working for Davis on these terms: Waller supplied labor and fertilizer, while Davis furnished seed and tools. The Wallers were to have a half share in the corn and wheat and a quarter share in the tobacco. When the AAA cut down Davis's acreage, he allotted only one acre to the Wallers; so Odell went to Baltimore to work, leaving his wife and mother working for Davis.

Waller learned that his wife and mother had been evicted, were starving, and could collect nothing. He returned to Chatham to collect what was due him, carrying a gun in his pocket as permitted by Virginia law if a man believes his life to be endangered. (Davis more than once had refused to pay him and had threatened him.) Waller parked the truck and went to speak to Davis. A magnolia bush prevented the persons in the truck from seeing exactly what happened, but Mrs. Waller heard Davis cursing. He finally said to Waller, "You won't get a damn bit of it!" and reached for his right-hand pocket, whereupon Waller shot him.

Davis died two days later of a collapsed lung. Neither the lung nor the immediately surrounding area had been traumatized. Dr. Risher of Lynchburg testified that he could not say positively whether the lung collapsed as a result of the shooting.

Waller has been sentenced to die on December 27. Thomas H. Stone, his attorney, is appealing the case. In spite of threats of lynching the judge refused change of venue. The jury was made up of ten landlords, one advertising man, and one carpenter, all white. Four policemen testified that in their opinion Waller ought to be sent to the chair, but that they believed he could get a fair and impartial hearing.

The sum of $350 for the appeal is needed by November 26. If the case goes to the Supreme Court $2,000 will be needed. Money should be sent to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

FLORENCE BECKER
New York, November 15

CONTRIBUTORS

RALPH BATES, an English novelist who served for more than a year in the Spanish Republican army, is the author of "The Olive Field," "Rainbow Fish," and "The Fields of Paradise."

H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH is writing a history of the Spanish Phalanx.

WILLARD R. ESPY, formerly with the Havas News Agency, attended the pan-American conference in Cuba last summer.

JULIAN HUXLEY is the English biologist and writer.

JAMES WECHSLER is a labor reporter on *PM*. He made a close study of the Dies investigating committee when he was associated with *The Nation*.

PAUL ROSENFELD, well-known critic of art and literature, was one of the editors of "The American Caravan."

JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of "Now with His Love" and "Minute Particulars."

LOUIS B. SALOMON is a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, has written extensively on European problems.

JEROME MELLQUIST is completing a book on modern American art, to be published in the spring.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED